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Memoir of Adoniram Judson

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Adoniram Judson

FOURTH THOUSAND.

MEMOIR

OF

ADONIRAM JUDSON:

BEING A SKETCH OF

HIS LIFE AND MISSIONARY LABORS.

BY J. CLEMENT,

AUTHOR OF "NOBLE DEEDS OF AMERICAN WOMEN."

"Knowest thou the leader of that train, who toil
The everlasting Gospel's light to shed
On earth's benighted climes?"

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TO

The Friends of Christian Missions,

AND

ADMIRERS OF MORAL HEROISM,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

The preparation of this work was not a self-imposed task: it was undertaken at the solicitation of the publishers, and by the request of parties to whom we look for an assignment of labors.

No one can be more sensible than is the writer, of his unworthiness to be associated, in the relation of biographer, with the good man, an outline of whose missionary toils is presented in these pages. So much veneration is attached to his name, and such solemn grandeur to his character, that it may be deemed sacrilegious presumption for an unpretending layman to endeavor to perpetuate the one or to portray the other. Nor have we attempted either, save as a plain recital of his pioneer and persevering efforts for the spiritual freedom and eternal salvation of the millions of idolatrous Burmah may conduce to that end.

True, even a meager sketch of his life-work must disclose most of his noble traits of character; and it is to be hoped that the contour of the more prominent may be discernible in this volume. His firmness and elevation of principle, expansive conceptions of christian duty, simplicity and inflexibility of faith, and fervor and enthusiasm of piety, are apparent in the portions of his journal and letters which we have inserted; and his practical judgment, strong executive capacities, untiring patience, and profound philological and other literary attainments, are exhibited in the nature, amount, and excellence of his labors, at which this work repeatedly hints. If there is any one trait which is not developed in the following pages, it is benevolence. Much of it, however, is implied in the fact, that he gave thirty-eight years of manly toil for the redemption of a people who robbed him under the vail of taxes cruelly levied, loaded him with fetters, cast him into dungeons and death-prisons, drove him bare-footed over burning sands, and, finally, to bar him from the heart of the empire and from the "golden presence," swung against his philanthropic heart the iron gates of intolerance. But he gave more than his days to the cause of Missions — more than his comforts a martyr to persecution: about fifteen hundred dollars received for the memoir of his second wife, and between four and five thousand dollars presented as a reward for his services as interpreter during the English and Burman war, were put into the treasury of the Lord. All he was, all he had, all he received, he cheerfully laid on the altar of Missions; and while, by divine grace, he was enabled to point others to imperishable riches, so far as it respects this world's goods he himself died a poor man. The only legacy he has left, for an invalid widow and several children, is a great and good name and a precious memory. And it may not be improper, in this connection, to mention that, with commendable generosity, the publishers of this work have voluntarily pledged themselves, in case profits should accrue from its sale, to donate a liberal portion to the surviving members of the Judson family. For this reason, if for no other, we could wish the work had higher merits, and brighter anticipations of public favor.

In order that it might not be deemed valueless, we have made it as autobiographical as was consistent with our plan. Nearly half of these pages are extracts from Mr. Judson's writings, in which he details, in his modest yet highly attractive manner, his efforts to sow the seed of divine truth beside the waters of Burmah. For his interesting narratives of jungle tours, adventures at the capital of Burmah Proper, and errands of mercy along the shores of the Indian seas, and across the mighty deep, we are mainly indebted to the "Missionary Magazine," to files of which, from its commencement, we have had access. We have drawn so largely upon the rich fruits of his pen, that, should our name be used in connection with the work, we may with most propriety be regarded in the light of a compiler. Essential aid has been derived from other pens, from those of Knowles, Gammell, Choules, Malcom, and others, to whom indebtedness is acknowledged elsewhere.

In sketching the life and labors of Mr. Judson, we have incorporated as much missionary intelligence, particularly with reference to the stations where he labored,—those in Burmah Proper and the province of Maulmain,—as could be compressed within our prescribed limits.

So far as the work professes to be historical, great pains have been taken to make it reliable. It is not improbable, however, that an error, here and there, may have escaped notice. We have consulted no author who is faultless in in dates; and if, in some instances, we have been misled by works that are denominated standard, and have received indiscriminate and unqualified praise, and in others are guilty of misleading by our own carelessness, we have only to ask of the *candid* critic, whose services we covet rather than deprecate, that our faults be pointed out in kindness and christian love.

Two or three works, commemorative of the name and services of Mr. Judson, have already appeared; and one of them, a lengthy and eloquent discourse on his life and character, is of so low a price, yet of so high a value, as to bring it within the reach of all, and to ensure its introduction into thousands of families, where a costly work might never gain access.

No volume, however, that has yet appeared, possesses sufficient fullness to be entitled to the name of "Life" of Mr. Judson. While this one and its predecessors, may serve a humble purpose, in some instances, finding their way into hands where a more expensive one would not, and in others, creating or sharpening an appetite for one of more ambitious pretensions, a work of the larger class is demanded, and, we are happy to say, is in a course of preparation. The small volume which we have prepared, can not be regarded as its rival, but may serve in the humble capacity of a John Baptist, to herald a worthier.

J. C.

BUFFALO, Aug. 7, 1851.

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OUTLINE

OF THE

LIFE AND MISSIONARY LABORS

OF

REV. ADONIRAM JUDSON.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Judson's Birth, Education, and Conversion — Desires to become a Missionary — Visits England — Appointment as a Missionary — Marriage and Embarkation for India.

ADONIRAM JUDSON was the son of a Congregational clergyman, and was born in Malden, Massachusetts, on the 9th of August, 1788. His father early and anxiously strove to imbue his mind with the principles of the divine word, and to develop his moral sensibilities; but, as is frequently the case, the seed seasonably sown did not take root immediately, nor show any promise for years. The son fitted for college in an impenitent state, and graduated at Brown University, in 1807, a deist in sentiment, and with the prospect that his talents and learning would be of no service to the world. But He, who sees the end from the beginning, and brings wondrous things to pass, had marked out for our young graduate a path which led through the valley of humiliation, across fields of highest usefulness, and over the hill-tops of the morally sublime.

Soon after leaving college, he commenced a tour designed to embrace the United States, but had hardly entered upon it, before some providential occurrence shattered his skeptical sentiments, and led him to examine the evidences of the inspiration of Scripture. Restless and unhappy; losing all relish for traveling; sick of the vanities of the world, and tired of feeding his famishing spirit on the husks of unbelief and sin, he returned to his father's house, and soon raised the important inquiry, "What must I do to be saved?"

A short time before this date, the theological seminary at Andover, in his native state, had been opened; and he now became anxious to avail himself of its superior advantages for the investigation of religious truth. According to its rules, no one could be admitted without evidence of piety; but, notwithstanding this embarrassing circumstance, he was so eager to obtain religious instruction, that, without attempting to conceal his moral unfitness, he presented himself for membership. It was a singular request, and might, under some circumstances, have received the prompt refusal of the faculty; but, in this instance, they wisely decided to so far deviate from their regulations, as to allow him to remain and receive instruction, though he was not, at first, enrolled among the theological students. In two or three months he became the subject of renewing grace, and there was no longer any doubt about the propriety of considering him a regular member of the institution.

With his pride measurably subdued, and his ambition sanctified, he was now prepared to live for some high purpose. Feeling the power of the gospel, and anxious that the world might reap its benefits, he applied himself, with the utmost diligence, to fit himself for the ministry.

While engaged in his theological studies, Dr. Buchanan's sermon, entitled "The Star in the East," fell into his hands, and its perusal kindled all the fire of his soul into a living and quenchless flame, and gave his thoughts a new direction. The scope of his christian sympathies became enlarged; the tone of his prayers was changed, and their subjects multiplied; and he hinted to some of his intimate friends, that it was, perhaps, his duty to engage in missionary labor. There was then no society in this country to which he could look for support, and the persons to whom he communicated his impressions, gave him but little encouragement: he therefore wrote to the directors of the London Missionary Society, stating his feelings on the subject of missions, and asking for advice and information. His letter elicited an encouraging reply, and he was invited to visit England, and receive personally the information desired.

About this time, several of his fellow students also had their attention called to the subject of missions, and some of them resolved to embark in the enterprise as soon as a way could be provided. They were all Congregationalists; and were desirous that their christian brethren should know their feelings and impressions of duty: accordingly, when the Massachusetts association of ministers of that denomination met at Bradford, in June, 1810, the following document, prepared by Mr. Judson, and signed by himself, Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell, was presented:

"The undersigned, members of the divinity college, respectfully request the attention of their reverend fathers, convened in the general association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries:

"They beg leave to state, that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious and, they trust, a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success, and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that, after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way.

"They now offer the following inquiries, on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this association: Whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of missions as visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or the western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a missionary society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take previous to actual engagement?

"The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexperience, look up to their fathers in the church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers."

This paper was referred to a special committee, who, after much deliberation and prayer, reported, in substance, That the object of missions is one of the utmost importance; that the command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is sacred and binding; and that the peculiar and strong convictions by which the memorialists were influenced, should probably be regarded as a divine intimation in respect to the duty of American christians in the work of spreading the truth. It was voted "That there be instituted, by this general association, a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands." Such was the origin of an organization which soon rallied to its support the concentrated forces of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians throughout the United States; and which had, in a few years, established its missions at Bombay, Ceylon, Siam, on the Mediterranean, in the Sandwich Islands, and among several tribes of Indians, and identified itself with many of the noblest triumphs of truth in modern times.

Anxious to be engaged in the work for which their hearts yearned, Mr. Judson and his companions desired a prompt official assignment of their stations; but no plan of operation being matured, and no funds raised, the Board advised them to continue their connection with the institution, and to wait patiently until Providence should open the way for their departure.

The missionary spirit had then warmed but few hearts in America, and Mr. Judson feared that, if he depended for support on the churches at home, he might not be appointed for years; he therefore, by permission of the Board, sailed for England in January, 1811, with instructions to ascertain whether the London Society would coöperate with the American Board, and whether the former would render any aid, should the latter need it, in order to sustain a mission. The vessel in which he embarked, was captured by a French privateer, about twenty days after sailing, and he was detained several weeks on board. He was then taken to Bayonne, and thrown into prison. Through the intercession of some of his own countrymen, he was, ere long, released on parol, and after some delay and great exertions, the emperor was induced to grant him a passport. He had been so long delayed that he did not reach England until May—four months after sailing.

His mission to London was not wholly unsuccessful, though he was unable to secure a concert of measures between the two missionary associations. The London body doubtless thought that American christians should support missionaries of their own, nor had they much faith in the successful working of a jurisdiction divided by an ocean three thousand miles wide. The directors of the foreign society, however, promised full support to Mr. Judson and his associates, in case of failure to do as much on the part of the American Board. Leaving the matter in this indefinite state, Mr. Judson returned.

A meeting of the Board of Commissioners was held at Worcester, Mass., in September following, and Mr. Judson and one of his associates attended, and expressed a desire to be appointed, if the Board thought proper, without delay. They also stated, that if the Board did not feel warranted in promising them support, they would, if no serious objections were made, put themselves under the patronage of the foreign society. The prospect of a war between the United States and Great Britain seemed to render it necessary that the course to be adopted should be decided upon at once. The American Board had been organized but three months; its funds were scanty; and what dependence could be placed on the liberality of the churches, was then unknown; nevertheless, trusting in God to further their efforts, the Board nobly decided to establish a mission in Burmah. This decision made, the proffered services of the young students were needed; and Messrs. Judson, Newell, Nott, and Gordon Hall, were forthwith appointed. Three others, among whom was

Luther Rice, were soon afterward set apart to the same work.

When at Bradford, in the year 1810, Mr. Judson became acquainted with Miss Ann Hasseltine, a native of that town, and the daughter of Mr. John Hasseltine. She was then in the twenty-first year of her age; had been educated at the celebrated academy located there; and possessing a polished, active, clear, and strong mind, ardent piety, and a prepossessing person, she made a deep and abiding impression on his heart. Their acquaintance was soon afterward renewed, and ere long Mr. Judson offered her his hand, accompanied by the proposition for her to forsake not only her parents, birthplace, and friends, but native land also: hence, to accept his offer required no ordinary decision of character. She examined the subject in all its bearings, and after much prayer, with few earthly friends to encourage her, she decided, from conviction of duty which she could not resist, that, with her parents' consent, she would encounter the hardships and dangers attendant upon an unbroken missionary path.

In compliance with a hint from Miss Hasseltine, Mr. Judson wrote to her father asking his consent to the proposed union. The following extract shows the candor and frankness of Mr. Judson; his devotion of purpose, and sense of the sacrifice a parent must make in giving up a daughter under such peculiar circumstances:

"I have now to ask, whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world; whether you can consent to her departure for a heathen land, and her subjection to the hardships and sufferings of a missionary life? whether you can consent to her exposure to the dangers of the ocean; to the fatal influence of the southern climate of India; to every kind of want and distress; to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death? Can you consent to all this, for the sake of Him who left his heavenly home, and died for her and for you—for the sake of perishing immortal souls—for the sake of Zion, and the glory of God? Can you consent to all this, in hope of soon meeting your daughter in the world of glory with a crown of righteousness, brightened by the acclamations of praise which shall redound to her Saviour from heathens saved, through her means, from eternal woe and despair?"

The parent thus honorably addressed, obeyed the voice of duty at the sacrifice of feeling, and gave his daughter to the cause of missions, for the sake of the first great Missionary, who had freely given his life a ransom for many. Mr. Hasseltine's was the first offering of the kind in America; it was made under the most trying circumstances, and shows, that love for Christ can loosen the coils of selfishness, and that faith can relinquish the brightest jewels of the heart.

The marriage took place at Bradford, on the 5th of February, 1812. On the 16th, Mr. Judson, together with Messrs. Newell, Nott, Rice, and Hall, was ordained as a foreign missionary, at Salem. It was the first ceremony of the kind ever performed by American Protestants. From its novelty and importance it was fraught with peculiar interest, and an unusual degree of excitement. Drs. Griffin, Woods, Morse, Worcester, and Spring, conducted the exercises.

On the 19th of the same month, Messrs. Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed from Salem, in the Caravan, for Calcutta. The enterprise in which they that day embarked was in its infancy in this land; only here and there a christian had faith in its expediency or success; and, hence, when our young missionary adventurers went down to the ship, but few persons accompanied them. With scarcely a parting hand to take at the vessel's side; without a formal christian benediction to comfort them, or an inspiring anthem to drown the chilling roar of the wintry surge, and carry their souls on buoyant wings to heaven, they weighed anchor, floated out of the harbor, and, as they supposed, lost sight forever of their native land.

On the 24th of the same month, Messrs. Nott and Hall, with their wives, and Mr. Rice, sailed from Philadelphia, in the ship Harmony, all bound for Calcutta. Thence, if practicable, they were to proceed to the Burman empire; otherwise they were to seek such unoccupied field in India as seemed the most inviting.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the Missionaries at Calcutta—Their Ill Treatment by the Bengal Government—Change of Religious Sentiment, and Baptism of Messrs. Judson and Rice.

The first American heralds of the gospel to the heathen were now afloat upon the trackless deep, bearing toward their field of contemplated labor; and it was an important epoch in the history of our churches. The question, What will be the result of this movement? must have occupied many minds, and received answers corresponding to the degree of faith animating the souls of the self-questioners. Some, doubtless, saw, in imagination, the wreck of the Caravan, the loss of its precious freight, and the termination of the enterprise; others, perhaps, beheld these adventurous pioneers wilting beneath a tropic sun on a foreign shore, or perishing at the hands of the ungrateful and benighted people to whom they had been commissioned to carry the message of salvation; and a few had hopes—though probably not the strongest—that a mission might be established which would be permanent, powerful, and ramifying. But who, among the most sanguine friends of the great enterprise, had even the faintest conception of its importance, the magnanimity in reserve for it, and the glory with which He, who was its author, and is still its head, had resolved to crown it.

God had a noble part for Mr. Judson to perform, and he and his associates were borne across three oceans with unusual rapidity, and permitted to land in safety at Calcutta, on the 18th of June, 1812. Dr. Carey, of the English Baptist Mission, which was established in Bengal in 1793, greeted them with christian cordiality, welcomed them to the country, and gave them an invitation, too pressing and opportune to be refused, to join the mission family at Serampore, until the arrival of Mr. Rice and his companions, who had sailed five days after the Caravan.

Serampore is fifteen miles above Calcutta, and thither the missionaries repaired the day after their arrival.

They had shared the hospitalities of Messrs. Carey, Ward, and Marshman's pleasant families, about ten days, when Messrs. Judson and Newell were summoned to the government house, and ordered to return to the United States with their wives, in the ship which brought them out; otherwise she could not receive a clearance. The authority of the British East India Company, which had jurisdiction over that part of the country, was peremptory; and there being no hope that the order would be remanded, the missionaries concluded to remove to some part of India beyond their control.*

As the missionaries had been directed by the Board of Commissioners to establish, if possible, a mission somewhere in the Burman empire, they wished to comply with this instruction; but the unsettled state of things between that government and the English, seemed to render the attempt at that time impracticable. A vessel, bound for the Isle of France, was about to sail; and obtaining permission to leave on her, Messrs. Judson and Newell sought a passage. Her accommodations were such, however, that berths could be procured for only two persons; and it was decided that Mr. Newell and lady should embark. Mr. Judson could find no other passage readily; and in about six weeks after their first landing in Calcutta, he and his wife were joined by the company that sailed in the Harmony.

During the voyage to India, it occurred to Mr. Judson, that he should there meet the English Baptist missionaries, and, perhaps, have occasion to discuss the question of baptism; accordingly, while engaged in translating the Scriptures, he examined this point very critically, and before the voyage was ended he had nearly decided that immersion was the primitive and only legitimate mode. In this opinion he was fully confirmed after a few weeks' examination of the subject, while waiting on foreign and forbidden grounds for an opportunity to depart. He announced his change of sentiments to the missionaries at Serampore, in the following letter:

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* Without canvassing the motives by which the East India company were actuated in their treatment of these missionaries, it is enough to say, that when, in 1813, their charter was renewed, it was so amended, through the influence of Wilberforce, Fuller, and other christian philanthropists, as to countenance missionary effort by whomsoever made.

TO MESSRS. CAREY, MARSHMAN, AND WARD.

CALCUTTA, August 27, 1812.

As you have been ignorant of the late exercises of my mind on the subject of baptism, the communication which I am about to make, may occasion you some surprise.

It is now about four months, since I took the subject into serious and prayerful consideration. My inquiries commenced during my passage from America, and after much laborious research and painful trial, which I shall not now detail, have issued in entire conviction, that the immersion of a professing believer is the only christian baptism.

In these exercises I have not been alone. Mrs. Judson has been engaged in a similar examination, and has come to the same conclusion. Feeling, therefore, that we are in an unbaptized state, we wish to profess our faith in Christ by being baptized in obedience to his sacred commands.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, Jr.

Four days afterward he sent a copy of the above letter to Rev. Thomas Baldwin, of Boston, accompanying it with the following note:

"I write you a line, to express my grateful acknowledgments to you, for the advantage I have derived from your publications on baptism; particularly from your 'Series of Letters;' also to introduce the following copy of a letter, which I forwarded last week to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, and which you are at liberty to use as you think best."

Having become a Baptist, Mr. Judson could not expect the continued support of the Commissioners in America, should Providence see fit to open a field of labor for him in the East; accordingly he addressed a letter to Rev. Dr. Worcester, in which he says:

"My change of sentiments on the subject of baptism, is considered by my missionary brethren, as incompatible with my continuing their fellow-laborer in the mission which they contemplate on the island of Madagascar;—and it will, I presume, be considered by the Board of Commissioners as equally incompatible with my continuing their missionary. The Board will, undoubtedly, feel as unwilling to support a Baptist missionary, as I feel to comply with their instructions, which particularly direct us to baptize 'credible believers, with their households.'"

The remainder of the letter, which is expressive of Mr. Judson's feelings on being obliged to dissolve his connection with the Board, is as follows:

"The dissolution of my connection with the Board of Commissioners, and a separation from my dear missionary brethren, I consider most distressing consequences of my late change of sentiments; and indeed, the most distressing events which have ever befallen me. I have now the prospect before me of going alone to some distant island, unconnected with any society at present existing, from which I might be furnished with assistant laborers or pecuniary support. Whether the Baptist churches in America will compassionate my situation, I know not. I hope, therefore, that while my friends condemn what they deem a departure from the truth, they will at least pity me, and pray for me."

This letter was written at Calcutta, the first day of September, 1812. At the same date Mr. Judson addressed one to Rev. Lucius Bolles, of Salem, in which he says:

"Within a few months I have experienced an entire change of sentiments on the subject of baptism. My doubts concerning the correctness of my former system of belief, commenced during my passage from America to this country; and after many painful trials, which none can know, but those who are taught to relinquish a system in which they had been educated, I settled down in the full persuasion, that the immersion of a professing believer in Christ is the only christian baptism.

"Mrs. Judson is united with me in this persuasion. We have signified our views and wishes to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, and expect to be baptized in this city next Lord's day.

"A separation from my missionary brethren, and a dissolution of my connection with the Board of Commissioners, seem to be necessary consequences. The missionaries at Serampore are exerting themselves to the utmost of their ability, in managing and supporting their extensive and complicated mission.

"Under these circumstances, I look to you. Alone, in this foreign, heathen land, I make my appeal to those, whom, with their permission, I will call *my Baptist brethren* in the United States."

Rev. Samuel Nott, one of the brethren who thought it not advisable for Mr. Judson to accompany them to Madagascar, bears the following testimony to the honesty of his motives in becoming a Baptist: "From the time of my arrival in Calcutta, I knew intimately the labor of his mind; and I declare my full conviction, that he gave the subject the most thorough and serious examination, studying carefully the Scriptures, and all the authors he could find on the subject; that he studied it religiously; and that, in all his conversation upon it, he seemed under a solemn and deep religious impression. Indeed he manifested a real enthusiasm upon it. It occupied his whole mind. Should I blame him at all, it would not be for sinister motives and insincere professions, but for suffering his mind to lose, in some measure, the calmness and coolness desirable in the consideration of argument. But, be that as it may, if I ever beheld evidence of piety in any man, I beheld it then in him."

Mr. and Mrs. Judson were baptized by Rev. Mr. Ward, on the sixth of the month. Mr. Rice also met with a similar change of views, and was baptized on the first of November following.

A short time after this change of views, Mr. Judson delivered a discourse, embodying the strong arguments in favor of believers' baptism and immersion as the only proper mode. This discourse was immediately printed by the English Baptists at Serampore, and Dr. Carey pronounced it one of the best on the subject he had ever heard. Several editions have been printed in this country.

CHAPTER III.

Embarkation for the Isle of France — Return of Mr. Rice to America — Mr. Judson sails for Madras and thence for Rangoon — Sketch of the English Mission at Rangoon — Description of the Place — Character of the Burmans — Their Religion.

We now behold Mr. Judson in a truly perplexing condition. Severed from the Board of Commissioners, and ignorant of what he should receive at the hands of American Baptists, he was ordered out of the country, and knew not whither to flee. In this trying state he stood, waiting for an opportunity to sail for Java, Persia, South America, or any other part of the world where he could be useful in the service of his Master, when the Bengal government issued an order requiring the missionaries to embark in one of the East India Company's ships, then just ready to sail for England. Messrs. Judson and Rice were accompanied to their abode by an officer, who impudently ordered them to remain within doors, until permitted to do otherwise. Their names were printed in the list of passengers, but they were determined not to go to England. Learning that a ship, called the Creole, would sail in two days for the Isle of France, they applied for a passport, but were refused. Nevertheless, they persuaded the captain to let them embark, and, every thing on board, they set sail at night. A government dispatch chased them down the river, and at the end of two days overtook them, and ordered them to be put on shore. With sad hearts they sought lodgings near the river's margin, and saw the ship proceed on her way. After much perplexity, and three days' delay, they obtained a pass from the magistrate, to return to the Creole: and hurrying down the river, overtook her at Saugar roads, seventy miles distant, where she had lain at anchor two days.

After about seven weeks' sail, Mr. Judson reached the Isle of France, on the 17th of January, 1813, and found Mr. Newell mourning the loss of his wife, and an infant daughter, born at sea.

Messrs. Judson and Rice had been on the island laboring for souls about two months, when it was deemed expedient that the latter should return to the United States to create, if possible, an interest among the Baptist denomination, in the cause of foreign missions.

Not satisfied with having driven the missionaries from Calcutta, the directors notified the governor of the Isle of France, of their presence, and directed him to keep a vigilant eye on their movements. The governor, however, paid but little regard to such instruction; and they were allowed the freedom of the island. But Mr. Judson had not visited the Isle of France with the intention of remaining there

He had, at first, the island of Madagascar in view; but learning it would be impossible to establish a mission there, he determined to try the experiment at Penang, or Prince of Wales' island. As a direct passage thither could not be obtained, Mr. and Mrs. Judson concluded to sail for Madras, the seat of one of the presidencies of Hindostan, hoping to proceed thence to the field under contemplation. They left the Isle of France about the middle of May, and reached Madras the early part of June. Here they learned that the Honorable Company's government accused the American missionaries of being spies — there being war at that time between England and the United States — and had lately attempted to send Messrs. Hall and Nott to England. This renewed assurance of hostility led Mr. Judson to fear lest he might receive similar orders, and he resolved to leave the place at the earliest opportunity. He forthwith ascertained that there was but one ship in the Madras roads that would leave before the authorities at Calcutta might hear of his return to India; that one was bound to Rangoon, the principal port in the Burman empire. From the unsettled state of things there, Mr. Judson dreaded to attempt a mission; but finding no passage to Penang, and deeming it expedient to hasten from Madras, he took leave of the English missionaries and others who had kindly entertained him, and sailed for Burmah, on the 22d of the month in which he arrived.

The shores of the Indian seas are lined with hidden reefs of coral; and as the passage was unusually boisterous, the missionaries were exposed to imminent perils. But God had them in keeping,—and after tossing on the furious waves for three weeks, with these reefs looking upward at times with horrible threatening, they anchored in the harbor of Rangoon. It was a memorable day, in 1813; and the 14th of July should be sacred to every American Baptist,—it being the anniversary of the landing of their first representative on the shores of Burmah. Adoniram Judson that day entered upon a work which has honored the Baptist name throughout Christendom, and given him a fame too pure to covet the "storied urn," and too enduring to trust itself with the "animated" but pulverizing "bust."

Rangoon had previously been the seat of a mission. Rev. Messrs. Chater and Mardon made a visit to the place in January, 1807, under the direction of the English Baptist Missionary Society; and on returning to Serampore, the following May, made a favorable report. It was consequently decided to commence operations there, the mission to be under the direction of the gentlemen at Serampore. Mr. Charter and Mr. Felix Carey, a son of Dr. Carey, were accordingly designated as laborers there, and sailed with their wives in November. In 1810, they were joined by Rev. Messrs. Pritchett and Brain, from the London Missionary Society. The latter soon died; and as the Burman government held belligerent relations to the Siamese, the former in a short time departed for a more promising field. In 1811, the country was sundered by the revolt of the Muggs and Rachmers; war among the different princes of Burmah threatened Rangoon; and Mr. Chater forsook the station, and went to Ceylon. In 1813, Mr. Carey went to Ava, to inoculate some members of the royal family, and departed thence to Serampore.

Thus, on the arrival of Mr. Judson at Rangoon, he found that Providence had vacated the station for him. Of all its members, Mrs. Carey alone remained. She being the sole occupant of the mission-house, he had but to enter the unoccupied apartments, and prepare for his great work, and the baptism of suffering and sorrow which awaited him.

Rangoon is situated on a river of the same name, which resembles a broad bay, being six miles wide at its mouth. It is one of the outlets of the Irrawaddy. The town is about thirty miles from the sea; is built on marshy land, and has an excellent harbor. It is not very prepossessing in its appearance, and, at some seasons of the year, when the water is high, is said to resemble "a neglected swamp." In 1813, its population was estimated at forty thousand. It is the only seaport except Bassein. Its commerce is extensive, and it is second only, in importance as a city, to Ava. The latter is the capital of the empire, and lies on the Irrawaddy, three hundred and fifty miles above the former.

The Burman empire was, at the period of which we are speaking, about a thousand miles long and six hundred wide. Among its kingdoms were Ava, Pegu, Mergui, Tavoy, and Arracan. Others were added by Nunsun, who ascended the throne in 1819 A war with the British, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, lessened its dominions. The name of the reigning monarch in 1813, was Menderagyee, who ascended the throne in 1782, and died in 1819.

The Burmans have some good and as many bad traits of character. They are active, industrious, persevering, hospitable and courteous to strangers, yet filthy, sensual, deceitful, crafty, and thievish; and, when governed by rapacious rulers, are cunning, false, and perjurious. Their lives are said to be " wasted in the profitless alternation of sensual ease, rude drudgery, and active sport. No elements," the same writer adds, " exist for the improvement of posterity, and successive generations pass, like the crops upon their fields. Were there but a disposition to improve the mind, and distribute benefits, what majesty of piety might we not hope to see in a country so favored with the means of subsistence, and so cheap in its modes of living! Instead of the many objects of an American's ambition, and the increasing anxiety to amass property, the Burman sets a limit to his desires, and when that is reached, gives himself to repose and enjoyment. Instead of wearing himself out in endeavors to equal or surpass his neighbor in dress, food, furniture, or house, he easily attains the customary standard, beyond which he seldom desires to go."

It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the grossness and degradation of the Burman character;

the picture would be too revolting. It is enough to say that it is drawn in the first chapter of Romans,—where its colors stand out in boldest relief, and give us the deepest and most melancholy impression of the debasing power of sin.

Sin! what ravages it has made in the world, and how sad to contemplate its effects, especially upon the mind! "Witness its lofty powers bowed down in ignominious servitude to base corporeal appetites, and furious and debasing passions. See how the understanding is darkened, the will perverted, and the heart alienated from all that is holy. See reason and conscience dethroned, and selfishness reigning in gloomy and undisputed tyranny over the immortal mind, while appetite and passion have become its obsequious panders. See how the affections turn away with loathing from God, and what a wall of separation has sprung up between man and his Maker; how deeply and universally he has revolted from his rightful Sovereign, and has chosen other gods to rule over him."—"Hitchcock's Religion of Geology," page 103. Such is the character of all pagan nations; thus debased and blinded were the Burmans when Mr. Judson entered their empire.

Before giving an account of the labors of Mr. Judson among these people, it seems proper to present an epitome of their religion, to the overthrow of which those labors were to be directed. They belong to the sect of Buddhists, from Buddh, their term for divinity. Buddhs have been innumerable, some in most worlds, but in no one more than five.

Ours has had four, of whom Gaudama was the last. He was born 625 years before Christ, and lived in this world about eighty years. He was the son of Thokedawdareh, king of Benares. "He had previously lived in four hundred millions of worlds, and passed through innumerable conditions in each. In *this* world, he had been almost every sort of worm, fly, fowl, fish, or animal, and almost every grade and condition of human life. Having, in the course of these transitions, attained immense merit, he at length was born son of the above-named king.

"The moment he was born, he jumped upon his feet, and, spreading out his arms, exclaimed, 'Now am I the noblest of men! This is the last time I shall ever be born!' His height when grown up, was nine cubits. His ears were so beautifully long as to hang upon his shoulders; his hands reached to his knees; his fingers were of equal length; and with his tongue he could touch the end of his nose! all which are considered irrefragable proofs of his divinity."

The only sacred books of the Buddhists extant, are the laws and sayings of Gaudama. They were reduced to writing, in the Pali language, about ninety-five years after Christ. These books are called the Bedagat. Its cosmogony slightly varies in the different books, and even the same book sometimes contradicts itself. For a very interesting sketch of the Buddhist's universe, we refer the reader to the first volume of "Malcom's Travels," by which work we are mainly guided in our statements of the character and religion of the Burmans:

"Of any supreme God, or any eternal, self-existent being, Buddhism affords no intimation; nor of any creation, or providence. From the annihilation of one Buddh, till the development of another, there is literally no God. Intervening generations must worship his image, law, and priests, and for their rules of life keep the sayings of the last Buddh, viz. Gaudama.

"Not only has the universe and all its sakiya systems existed from eternity, but also the souls of all the inhabitants, whether animals, men, or celestials. These souls have from eternity been transmigrating from one body to another, rising or falling in the scale of existence and enjoyment, according to the degree of merit at each birth. This rise or fall is not ordered by any intelligent judge, but is decided by immutable fate. In passing through these various forms of existence the amount of sorrow, endured by each soul, is incalculable. The Bedagat declares that the tears shed by any one soul, in its various changes from eternity, are so numerous, that the ocean is but as a drop in comparison! Existence and sorrow are declared to be necessary concomitants; and therefore 'the chief end of man' is to finish this eternal round of changes, and be annihilated.

"The great doctrines of this faith are five, viz: 1st. The eternal existence of the universe, and all beings 2d. Metempsychosis. 3d. Nicban or annihilation. 4th. The appearance, at distant periods, of beings who obtain deification and subsequent annihilation. 5th. The obtaining of merit. Of the first four of these, enough has been already said. The last is more deserving of notice, embracing, as it does, the whole system of morals.

"Merit consists in avoiding sins, and performing virtues; and the degree of it is the sole hope of the Buddhist. The forgiveness of sins, and the receipt of favor through the merit of another, are doctrines unknown. That suffering can be in any way regarded as a blessing, is to him absurd.

"The sins which are to be avoided are described in a moral code, consisting of five principal and positive laws:—1st. Thou shalt not kill. 2d. Thou shalt not steal. 3d. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 4th. Thou shalt not lie. 5th. Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor. These are explained and branched out so as to include all sins of the same kind, under each head. The first of these laws is extended to all killing, even that of animals for food. The very religious will not kill vermin. War and capital punishments are considered forbidden by the first law.

"Sins are divided into three classes: 1st. Those of the body; such as killing, theft, fornication, &c 2d. Those of the tongue; as falsehood, discord, harsh language, idle talk, &c. 3d. Those of the mind; as pride, covetousness, envy, heretical thoughts, adoring false gods, &c.

"The sacred books portray strongly the evils of pride, anger, covetousness, and inordinate appetites. Men are urged to avoid excessive perfumes, ornaments, laughter, vain joy, strong drink, smoking opium, wandering about the streets in the night, excessive fondness for amusements, frequenting bad company, and idleness. Those who aspire to Nicban are cautioned to abhor sorcery, not to credit dreams, nor be angry when abused, nor elated when approved, not to flatter benefactors, nor to indulge in scorn or biting jests, and most carefully to avoid enkindling strife.

"The states of the mind are resolved into three classes:—1st. When we are pleased in the possession of agreeable things. 2d. When we are grieved and distressed by evil things. 3d. When neither do good things gratify us, nor evil things distress. The last is the best state; and in it a man is rapidly preparing for Nicban. In this there is no small resemblance to the doctrine of the Stoics, and some approach to the christian doctrine of weanedness from the world. Some of their books abound in good comparisons; such as, that he who runs into sinful enjoyments is like a butterfly, who flutters round a candle till it falls in; or one who, by licking honey from a knife, cuts his tongue with the edge. There is scarcely a prohibition of the Bedagat, which is not sanctioned by our holy Scriptures; and the arguments appended to them are often just and forcible.

"Merit is of three kinds:—1st. *Theela*, or the observance of all the prohibitions and precepts, and all duties fairly deducible from them; such as beneficence, gentleness, integrity, lenity, forbearance, condescension, veneration to parents, love to mankind, &c. 2d. *Dana*, or giving alms and offerings. This includes feeding priests, building kyoungs, pagodas, and zayats, placing bells at pagodas, making public roads, tanks, and wells, planting trees for shade or fruit, keeping pots of cool water by the wayside for the use of travelers, feeding criminals, birds, animals, &c. 3d. *Bawana*, or repeating prayers, and reading religious books. Of this last, there are three degrees or sorts; the first consisting in merely reciting prayers, or reading thoughtlessly; the second, and more meritorious, is praying or reading, with a mind attentive to the exercise; the third, and most excellent, is performing these exercises with strong desires and awakened feelings. He who neglects to lay up merit, is compared to a man who sets out on a journey through an uninhabited country, beset with wild beasts, and provides himself neither with food nor weapons.

" Alms-deeds are meritorious according to the objects on which they are bestowed; according to the following general scale:—1st. Animals. 2d. Common labarors, fishermen, &c. 3d. Merchants and the upper classes when in necessity. 4th. Priests. For alms of the first class, the rewards are long life, beauty, strength, knowledge, and prosperity, during a hundred transmigrations; for those of the second class, the same, during a thousand transmigrations; for the third, the same, during ten thousand; for the fourth, a vastly great number, but indefinite, being graduated according to the degree of sanctity the particular priests may possess. Alms given by a poor man are declared to be incomparably more meritorious than those given by the rich. So great merit is conferred by acts of *Dana*, that persons are distinguished in society by honorable appellations on this account. The *most* meritorious deed is to make an idol, and this in proportion to its size and value.

"In attaining *Bawana*, the third sort of merit, a prominent exercise, is the frequent repetition of the words '*aneit-sa*, *doke-kha*, *Ah-nah-ta*.' The first of these words implies our liability to outward injuries and evils; the second, our exposure to mental sufferings; the third, our entire inability to escape these evils. The repetition of this prayer or soliloquy is of far greater merit than even alms-giving. To keep some reckoning in this most important particular, the votary commonly uses a string of beads, and passes one through his fingers at each repetition.

"Many discourses, said to have been delivered by Gaudama, are given in the Bedagat. In these, the duties of parents, children, husbands, wives, teachers, scholars, masters, slaves, &c., are drawn out and urged, in a manner which would do honor to any casuist."

CHAPTER IV.

Early Labors of Mr. Judson at Rangoon — Missionary Movements among American Baptists — Mr. Judson's Literary Progress — Death of the First Born.

For more than two years after his arrival at Rangoon, Mr. Judson toiled, without knowing definitely under whose patronage he was at work; but his peculiar and trying circumstances did not weaken his faith, abate the ardor of his hopes, or quench his love for the souls of the benighted millions, who were sinking into a hopeless grave. Hence, during the period above mentioned, he strove to lay the foundation of a work, which he could continue to advantage, were it the will of God that he should remain in Burmah. He acquainted himself with the condition of the country and its inhabitants, and made some progress in the acquisition of their language.* We say *some* progress, for it is exceedingly difficult to learn, and more than twice two years were necessary for one to acquire it perfectly. After studying it two or three years, he wrote to Rev. Lucius Bolles,

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* The method of learning the language was as follows: The teacher, though an intelligent man, knew nothing of English, and would point to various objects, and pronounce their names in Burman.

"I just now begin to see my way forward in this language, and hope that two or three years more will make it somewhat familiar; but I have met with difficulties that I had no idea of before I entered on the work. For a European or American to acquire a living oriental language, root and branch, and make it his own, is quite a different thing from his acquiring a cognate language of the west, or any of the dead languages, as they are studied in the schools. One circumstance may serve to illustrate this. I once had occasion to devote a few months to the study of French. I have now been above two years engaged in the Burman. If I were to choose between a Burman and a French book, to be examined in, without previous study, I should, without the least hesitation, choose the French. When we take up a western language, the similarity in the characters, in very many terms, in many modes of expression, and in the general structure of the sentences, its being in fair print—a circumstance we hardly think of—and the assistance of grammars, dictionaries, and instructors, render the work comparatively

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Mr. and Mrs. Judson would repeat them after him, and thus they slowly learned the vocabulary. Mr. Judson also studied the Pali, the court language of the Burmans, without a knowledge of which one could not be considered learned. Dr. Malcom says it is wholly a dead language. Mr. Judson subsequently ascertained that the time he devoted to it, was needlessly expended.

easy. But when we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth; when we find the letters and words totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we had ever met, and these words not fairly divided, and distinguished, as in western writing, by breaks, and points, and capitals, but run together in one continuous line, a sentence or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word; when, instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm leaves, strung together, and called a book; when we have no dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language, before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher,—

'Hoc opus, hic labor est.' "

Such was the state of things with Mr. Judson, when, on the 5th of September, 1815, three years and five days after he had written to Dr. Bolles, announcing his change of sentiments, he received the cheering intelligence that a Baptist Missionary Convention had been formed in the United States, and that himself and wife, together with Mr. Rice,* had been appointed missionaries.

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* Mr. Rice was directed, however, to remain in the United States, and travel, as he had been doing for nearly a year before his designation to the work, in order to awaken among the Baptists a deeper interest on the subject of missions, and to aid in organizing associations promotive of the cause. He never returned to the East.

The letter addressed to Dr. Bolles, on the first of September, 1812, with other communications from Mr. Judson, reached Boston in February, 1813; and the intelligence, that two of the pioneer missionaries sent out by the Board of Commissioners, had become Baptists, and appealed to the churches of that denomination for support, spread with astonishing rapidity, and produced the most happy results. It was justly regarded as a providential call to American Baptists, to enlist in the great and glorious enterprise for carrying the gospel to benighted nations, and the spirit of expanded benevolence took possession at once of thousands of hearts. The first demonstration of interest, in an associated capacity, was witnessed at the house of Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, where several clergymen convened immediately on the reception of Mr. Judson's letters, and formed — February 8th, 1813 — "The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and other Foreign Parts."

Dr. Sharp was chosen secretary,* and instructed to write to the directors of the English Baptist society, communicating Mr. Judson's circumstances, and proposing that he should be allowed to connect himself with the Serampore mission, and at the same time be supported by American churches. This proposal was politely, and no doubt wisely, rejected. The advice of Dr. Fuller was, that American Baptists should organize a society of their own.

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* The charge of this Society was committed to twelve men: Thos. Baldwin, Daniel Sharp, Joseph Grafton, Heman Lincoln, E. Lincoln, James Loring, William Collier, Thomas Kendall, Amos Smith, Prince Snow, J. C. Ransford, and Charles Wheeler. Only two of this number, Dr. Sharp and Hon. Heman Lincoln, survive.

Other local missionary societies were formed in 1813, and in the early part of 1814; and on the 18th of May, in the latter year, a convention was held in Philadelphia, when was formed "The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions."

Thus Mr. Judson was made a leading agent, in the hand of God, in the formation of two national missionary societies. The document which he prepared for the consideration of the meeting of Congregational ministers in 1810, led to the formation of the Board of Commissioners, and his change of views on baptism, and his appeal to Baptist brethren in the United States, originated the Triennial Convention.*

At the meeting of the Board of Managers, appointed by this Convention, and held immediately on the adjournment of that body, several resolutions were passed, having reference to the appointment of missionaries, and among them the following, relative to Mr. Judson:

"*Resolved*, That Rev. Adoniram Judson, Jr., now in India, be considered as a missionary, under the care and direction of this Board, of which he shall be informed without delay. That provision be made for the support of him and his family accordingly;

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*This body retained most of its original features until 1846, when it took the name of the American Baptist Missionary Union, which now meets annually.

and that one thousand dollars be transmitted to him by the first safe opportunity. That the secretary of the Particular Baptist Society for Missions, in England, be informed of this transaction; and that this Board has assumed the pledge given by the Boston Mission Society, to pay any bills which may be drawn on them, in consequence of advances they may have made in favor of Mr. and Mrs. Judson.

"*Resolved*, That our brother Judson be requested, for the present, to pursue his pious labors in such places as, in his judgment, may appear most promising; and that he communicate his views of future permanent stations to this Board, as early as he conveniently can.

"*Resolved*, That the proceedings of the late Convention, and of this Board, be communicated to the Baptist Missionary Society in England, and to their missionaries at Serampore, assuring them that it is the desire of this Board to hold an affectionate intercourse with them, in the work of the Lord: that they will ever be grateful for any information which the extensive experience of their brethren may enable them to impart on the subject of fields for missionary action, &c. &c., and will derive joy from the reflection that though, in these transactions, their respective seats of council be remote from each other, their hearts and aims are harmonious."

The reception of the proceedings of the Triennial Convention, and its Board of Managers, gave Mr. Judson great encouragement. He received them during the absence of his wife at Madras, whither she had gone for the restoration of her health,* and at a time when he seemed most to need cheering intelligence. Nor was he insensible of the blessing which God had conferred, by illuminating the night which had so long hung over him. He thus expresses his joy and pious gratitude:

"These accounts from my dear native land were so interesting as to banish from my mind all thoughts of study. This general movement among the Baptist churches in America is particularly encouraging, as it affords an additional indication of God's merciful designs in favor of the poor heathen. It unites with all the Bible societies in Europe and America, during the last twenty years, in furnishing abundant reason to hope that the dreadful darkness which has so long enveloped the earth is about to flee away before the rising sun. Do not the successes which have crowned some missionary exertions seem like the dawn of morning on the east? O! that this region of Egyptian darkness may ere long participate in the vivifying beams of light.

"None but one who has had the experience, can tell what feelings comfort the heart of a solitary missionary, when, though all the scenes around him present no friend, he remembers, and has proof, that there are spots on this wide earth, where christian brethren feel that his cause is their own, and pray to the same God and Saviour for his welfare and success. Thanks be to God, not only for 'rivers of endless joys above,' but for 'rills of comfort here below.'"

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* She embarked for Madras in January, 1815, and returned the following April, with her health completely restored.

The following letter, written at this period, explains itself:

RANGOON, Jan. 18, 1816.

DEAR BROTHER WARD, — I have finished the Ubidhan, to my great joy. But I know but little yet about the grammar and internal structure of the Pali. My object has been words simply, without much regard to their terminations. My collection amounts to four thousand three hundred and twenty. And here I must let the matter rest for the present, being grieved at having spent so much time already on a work not directly Burman. I have heard of a new Pali grammar, lately compiled at Ava, said to be greatly superior to those now in use; and have taken measures to secure a copy. If I should succeed, I shall probably give a little more attention to the language.

I am now beginning to translate a little. I am extremely anxious to get some parts of Scripture into an intelligible state, fit to be read to Burmans that I meet with. I have nothing yet that I can venture to use. The Portuguese missionaries have left a version of some extracts of Scripture, not very badly executed, in regard to language, but full of Romish errors. This, however, will afford me some assistance.

I remain, &c.,

A. JUDSON.

On the 4th of May, 1816, Mr. Judson lost his first-born, a boy about eight months old. While it is hard for parents to part with children, under any circumstances, it was peculiarly trying for these pioneer missionaries to give up their only child. Remote from all christian society, their "little Roger Williams" was to them like a bright and newly-risen star, the sole orb in their social sky, twinkling amid the gloom of moral darkness that surrounded them, and irradiating their solitary christian dwelling. When the light was quenched, a brief night of sorrow gathered over them. But amid the darkness, however dun, they saw the hand of the Smiter, kissed the rod, and without a murmur said, "Thy will be done." Such is the power of faith, which

"—— lights us through the dark to Deity;"

such the beauty of christian resignation. Thus blest, these lone and smitten pilgrims could sing, in the land of pagodas, and false and helpless gods,

Let us be patient! these severe afflictions
  Not from the ground arise,
But often times celestial benedictions
  Assume this dark disguise.

We see but dimly through the mists and vapors;
  Amid these earthly damps,—
What seems to us but dim, funereal tapers,
  May be heaven's distant lamps.

There is no Death! what seems so, is transition;
  This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
  Whose portal we call Death.

* * * * * * *

And though at times, impetuous with emotion
  And anguish long suppressed,
The swelling heart heaves, moaning like the ocean,
  That cannot be at rest;

We will be patient, and assuage the feeling
  We cannot wholly stay;
By silence sanctifying, not concealing,
  The grief that must have way.— LONGFELLOW

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Judson joined by Mr. Hough — Printing in the Burman Language — First Inquirers after Truth — Mr. Judson sails for Chittagong — Driven out of his Course and Delayed — Mr. Hough goes to Bengal — Mr. Judson returns to Rangoon — Heroic conduct of Mrs. Judson.

In the early part of 1816, though not fully master of the Burman language, Mr. Judson could write it with tolerable ease, and had ventured to prepare a tract, entitled "Summary of Christian Doctrines." About this time, his eyes became so much affected by his unremitted mental labor, that he could not read, though he was able to progress a little on a Burman grammar, which he was preparing. In the midst of his affliction and despondency, while greatly needing additional help, his heart was gladdened by the tidings, that Rev. George H. Hough, and wife, and Mrs. Charlotte White,* who had been appointed by the American Board of Managers, as missionaries to Burmah, had reached Calcutta. The news came while he was waiting for a vessel to sail, in which he had engaged a passage to Bengal, for the improvement of his health. This voyage he now abandoned, and soon began to amend. He had commenced negotiations with the English brethren at Serampore, to print his tract and some other works which were being prepared, when he ascertained that Mr. Hough, who had been bred a printer, was on the way. The latter was considerably delayed at Calcutta; and while there, the Baptist missionaries presented the Burman mission with a press, and font of Burman types, together with the apparatus necessary for printing. The press arrived at Rangoon about the first of August. On the sixth of the same month, Mr. Judson wrote to Dr. Baldwin, giving an account of his labors the previous half year, his sickness, the progress and prospects of the mission, and his wishes and aspirations in regard to it. We subjoin a few paragraphs:

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* Mrs. White was married soon after, and remained at Calcutta.

"I expect it will not be long before I shall be ordered up to Ava. The press, also, which has just arrived from Bengal, will not probably be allowed to stop long in Rangoon. This will open a wide field, and make it necessary to support two stations. I beg, therefore, that the Board will endeavor to send out one or two men with brother Rice, or as soon after as possible. The sooner they are on the ground, learning the language, the sooner they will be fit for service. I have never before thought it prudent to write for more men, in addition to those I knew were destined to the place; but some favorable prospects lately begin to open; and the more I become acquainted with the state of things, the less reason I have to fear that the government of the country will, at present, oppose the work.

"We know not the designs of God, in regard to this country; but I cannot but have raised expectations. It is true, we may have to labor and wait many years before the blessing comes; but we see what God is doing in other heathen lands, after trying the faith and sincerity of his servants some fifteen or twenty years. Look at Otaheite, Bengal, and Africa. And is Burmah to remain a solitary instance of the inefficacy of prayer, of the forgetfulness of a merciful and faithful God? Is it nothing, that an attempt is begun to be made; that, in one instance, the language is considerably acquired; that a tract is ready for publication, which is intelligible and perspicuous, and will give the Burmans their *first ideas* of a Saviour and the way of salvation; that a press and types have now arrived, and a printer is on the way; that a grammar is finished, to facilitate the studies of others, and a dictionary of the language is in a very forward state; and that the way is now prepared, as soon as health permits, to proceed slowly in the translation of the New Testament? Is it nothing that, just at this time, the monarch of the country has taken a violent hate to the priests of his own religion, and is endeavoring with all his power, to extirpate the whole order; at the same time professing to be an inquirer after the true religion? Is all this to be set down a mere cypher? It is true that we may desire much more. But let us use what we have, and God will give us more.

However, men and money must be forthcoming. Work cannot be done without men; and men cannot work without bread; nor can we expect the ravens to feed them in ordinary cases.

"I do not say, several hundred missionaries are needed here. This, though true, would be idle talk. My request, I think, is modest. Five men, allowing two or three to each of the stations, is the smallest number that will possibly answer."

In a joint communication, addressed to the corresponding secretary, on the 17th of November, 1816, Messrs. Judson and Hough say:

"We know not how long the press will be permitted to remain in Rangoon; we do not, however, deprecate its removal to Ava. Such a measure would, doubtless, tend to the furtherance of the cause, and to the introduction of religion into the very heart of the empire, where Satan's seat is. But in this case, more men and more money would be imperiously demanded; and we trust that the patronage of the Board will not fail us in these necessary points. We desire humbly to repeat to the Board what the first missionaries from the Baptist society in England said to their friends, when on the point of embarkation in the great work which seems destined to illume western India with the light of the gospel. 'We are,' said they, 'like men going down into a deep well; you stand at the top, and hold the ropes. Do not let us fall.' Hold us up, brethren and fathers; and, if health and life be spared us, we hope, through the grace of God, to see eastern India, also, beginning to participate in the same glorious light. Many years may intervene, in the latter, as well as the former case; many difficulties and disappointments may try your faith and ours. But let patience have her perfect work; let us not be weary of well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

Mr. Hough reached Rangoon on the 15th of October, and, with unspeakable joy, Mr. Judson welcomed a fellow laborer. With mountains of labor before them, he and his companion had stood alone in the Burman empire more than three years, and, unapplauded by mortal lips, had toiled on in their painful isolation, with the musical whispers of an approving conscience to cheer them, and the promises of God to encourage.

Soon after the arrival of the printer whom God had sent to work the donated press, the tract already mentioned, together with a catechism which Mr. Judson had also prepared, was printed; and the Gospel of Matthew was shortly after put to press. Thus Mr. Judson was at length enabled to gratify the curiosity of the cunning Burmans, who had repeatedly inquired for the sacred books of the new religion. Although, as yet, no additions had been made to the church which the missionaries had formed among themselves, the seed was being scattered abroad, and there were promising indications that it was taking root in the hearts on which it had fallen.

In a letter addressed to the corresponding secretary of the Board of Managers, March 7th, 1817, Mr. Judson writes, "I have this day been visited by the *first* inquirer after religion, that I have seen in Burmah. For although in the course of the last two years I have preached the gospel to many, and though some have visited me several times, and conversed on the subject of religion; yet I have never had much reason to believe that their visits originated in a spirit of sincere inquiry. Conversations on religion have always been of my proposing; and though I have sometimes been encouraged to hope that truth had made some impression, never, until to-day, have I met with one who was fairly entitled to the epithet of *inquirer.*

"As I was sitting with my teacher, as usual, a Burman of respectable appearance, and followed by a servant, came up the steps, and sat down by me. I asked him the usual question, where he came from: to which he gave me no explicit reply; and I began to suspect that he had come from the government house, to enforce a trifling request, which in the morning we had declined. He soon, however, undeceived and astonished me, by asking, 'How long a time will it take me to learn the religion of Jesus?' I replied that such a question could not be answered. If God gave light and wisdom, the religion of Jesus was soon learned; but without God, a man might study all his life long, and make no proficiency. But how, continued I, came you to know any thing of Jesus? Have you been here before? 'No.' Have you seen any writings concerning Jesus? 'I have seen two little books.' Who is Jesus? 'He is the Son of God, who, pitying creatures, came into this world, and suffered death in their stead.' Who is God? 'He is a Being without beginning or end, who is not subject to old age or death, but always is.' I can not tell how I felt at this moment. This was the first acknowledgment of an eternal God, that I had ever heard from the lips of a Burman. I handed him a tract and catechism, both of which he instantly recognized, and read here and there, making occasional remarks to his follower, such as, 'This is the true God—this is the right way,' &c. I now tried to tell him some things about God and Christ, and himself; but he did not listen with much attention, and seemed anxious only to get another book. I had already told him two or three times that I had finished no other book; but, that in two or three months, I would give him a larger one, which I was now daily employed in translating. 'But,' replied he, 'have you not a little of that book done, which you will graciously give me now?' And I, beginning to think that God's time was better than man's, folded and gave him the first two half sheets, which contain the first five chapters of Matthew; on which he instantly rose, as if his business was all done; and having received an invitation to come again, took leave. Throughout his short stay, he appeared different from any Burman I have met with. He asked no questions about customs and manners, with which the Burmans tease us exceedingly. He had no curiosity, and no desire for any thing, but 'more of this sort of writing.'"

Two or three weeks after this inquirer had departed, Mr. Judson learned, through an acquaintance, that he was reading, with great avidity, the books he had accepted, and showing them to all who waited on him. This inquirer did not call at the mission-house again until January, 1818, almost a year after his first visit. Mr. Judson was then absent. The long interval was occasioned by his being appointed governor of a cluster of villages on the Syrian river, in the province of Pegu.

During the summer of 1817, inquirers began to multiply. It was not an uncommon thing to see one or more at the mission-house; but they usually came separately, or in groups of two or three, who were on terms of intimacy. They seemed to manifest an unwillingness to be seen there by strangers, fearing, perhaps, that they should be reported to the civil authorities, and incur their displeasure.

In December, 1817, Mr. Judson embarked for Chittagong, in Arracan, ten days' sail from Rangoon; the objects of his visit being to improve his health, and avail himself of the literary services of some Arracanese converts. They spoke the Burman language, and if one of them could be persuaded to accompany him to Rangoon, and tarry there, he thought he could acquire the language much more rapidly. He expected to return in three months; but contrary winds made the vessel unmanageable, changed her course toward Madras, which she was unable to reach, and he was landed three hundred miles from that city. Thither he was obliged to travel by land, and was unable to sail for Rangoon until the 20th of July. He was absent eight months. Some of his hardships, perplexities, trials, and anxieties, are indicated in a letter written at Madras, on the 28th of May, 1818, and addressed to the corresponding secretary:

* * * "Finally we did reach Masulipatam, and, as there was no prospect, that season, of reaching Madras by sea, the only port on the coast where I could hope to find a vessel bound to Rangoon, I was under the necessity of taking a journey by land — distance about three hundred miles. I, accordingly, hired a palanquin and bearers, and arrived here on the 8th of April. * * * Here I have remained ever since, under very trying circumstances. Have scarcely heard from Rangoon, since I left, or been able to transmit any intelligence thither, by a conveyance to be depended on. The weakness of my eyes prevents my application to study, or attempt at any exertion. I am making no progress in missionary work; I am distressed by the appalling recollection of the various business which was pressing me at Rangoon, and made me reluctant to leave home for the shortest time. Now, I have been detained twice as long as I anticipated, and have,

withal, wholly failed in my undertaking. Where, my rebellious heart is ready to cry, where is the wisdom of all this? But it is wise, though blindness cannot apprehend. It is best, though unbelief is disposed to murmur. Be still, my soul, and know that he is God."

On his return, he found the mission in a mournful condition. About three months after he left for Chittagong, Mr. Hough was summoned to appear at the court-house, on an order which appeared to have reference to some Portuguese priests, who had been banished by the king. After giving assurance that he was not one of them, he was meanly detained by the officers, who vainly hoped, thereby, to extort ransom money. He was finally released, through the bold and strenuous exertions of Mrs. Judson, who persuaded her teacher to draw up a petition, which she presented to the viceroy.

Just before this arrest, news came from Chittagong, that neither Mr. Judson nor the vessel in which he sailed, had reached that port: and, soon after the viceroy's order to have Mr. Hough released was executed, intelligence was received that a war was expected, immediately, between the English and Burman governments. The cholera was raging at Rangoon, which caused additional alarm, and there seemed but little inducement, for foreigners at least, to remain. The poor natives were rapidly thinning before the awful malady; English traders were closing business, and hurrying out of the country; and all but one ship had, at length, left the river. That one was about to sail; and Mr. and Mrs. Hough readily decided to flee in her to Bengal, with the printing press. They also, after much entreaty, persuaded Mrs. Judson to go on board. The ship sailed on the 5th of July, but met with several days' detention, before reaching the mouth of the river. While delayed, Mrs. Judson, led by that "instinct which seems to guide the noblest natures in great emergencies," decided to return to Rangoon, and remain alone in the mission-house, until she should welcome her husband, or ascertain his doom. It was a bold decision, difficult to be paralleled in the annals of female courage; nor was it less fortunate than heroic. Her constancy was soon rewarded, for it was but a few days before Mr. Judson returned.

CHAPTER VI.

Appointment of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock — Erection of a Zayat — Early Labors thereat — Conversion and Baptism of Moung Nau — Death of the King — Revision of the First Tract — Death of Mr. Wheelock.

At the first triennial meeting of the Convention, held in May, 1817, Messrs. James Colman and Edward W. Wheelock, both residents of Boston, offered themselves as missionaries. They were accepted by the Board; sailed in the following November; arrived at Calcutta in April, 1818; and, after four months' delay, reëmbarked, and reached Rangoon on the 19th of September. Their arrival was opportune, and gave occasion for much rejoicing to Mr. Judson. He had toiled alone, since his return from Chittagong, with all the disadvantages attendant on the removal of the printing press to Bengal. But, however somber the night that had hung over the mission, he was full of that hope, which "tints tomorrow with prophetic ray," and hence had toiled on, patiently and diligently, looking to God to bring, in his own good time, the effulgence of returning day.

Messrs. Colman and Wheelock had hardly commenced their studies, before their health began to fail; which circumstance greatly retarded their progress. The former declined rapidly, and, as will be seen, was never permitted to do much for the salvation of those for whom he had made an offering of his life.

Meanwhile, Mr. Judson had become such a Burman linguist, as to be able to talk with considerable ease and fluency; and he now began to prosecute the work preliminary to public preaching. A zayat, a building to answer the purpose of a chapel,* was commenced. It was small, and divided into three parts. The first division opened to the road, fronting which was no partition; nor had it either windows or doors. The second division was a large room, containing four doors and four windows opening in opposite directions. The third was merely an entry, opening into the garden, and leading to the mission-house. The first division was of bamboo and thatch; the second of boards. Mr. Judson usually occupied the former; Mrs. Judson the latter.

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* Zayats, or caravansaries, sometimes serve the triple purpose of church, hotel, and town-house. They do not, however, meet the requirements of the stranger or traveler, as a hotel, except for shelter. Other wants are supplied at the bazaar, or by neighboring families. These buildings are found in all Burman villages, and not unfrequently between them.

This building, so important to the mission, and the erection of which, on a street lined with pagodas, angels must have watched with interest, was completed on the 24th of April, 1819. The next morning, which was the Sabbath, Mr. Judson seated himself in the open porch, under some solemn impression, as he has informed the world, "of the great responsibility attached to my new mode of life."

In the afternoon of the same day, the missionaries collected at the zayat; a number came in from the road, sufficient to make an audience of about twenty-five persons, and religious services were held. It is interesting to contemplate this small beginning in the "new mode" of prosecuting a great work. It was the first Sabbath on which public services were held, by American missionaries, in the Burman empire; and, although but few came to the solemn feast, and none but the missionaries could participate in its joys, or appreciate its weighty import, the little band of disciples, no doubt, looked forward with the eye of faith to the period when Burman voices would join theirs in songs of praise, and Burman hearts respond to their fervent prayers.

During the first week after the opening of the zayat, several inquirers called, who seemed to be earnest seekers after the truth; and one of them, named Moung Nau, who came first on the 30th of April, was afterward converted. He was the first Burman who embraced the new religion. When he first visited the zayat, he called daily for a short time, and his convictions of sin seemed to deepen rapidly. On the 5th of May, Mr. Judson began, as he thought, to discover signs of grace in his heart, and wrote in his journal as follows: "It seems almost too much to believe, that God has begun to manifest his grace to the Burmans; but this day I could not resist the delightful conviction, that this is really the case. Praise and glory be to his name forevermore. Amen."

The next day Mr. Judson made the following record: "Moung Nau was again with me a great part of the day. He appears to be slowly growing in religious knowledge, and manifests a teachable, humble spirit, ready to believe all that Christ has said, and obey all that he has commanded.

"He is thirty-five years old, no family, middling abilities, quite poor, obliged to work for his living, and therefore his coming day after day to hear the truth, affords stronger evidence that it has taken hold of his mind. May the Lord graciously lead his dark mind into all the truth, and cause him to cleave inviolably to the blessed Saviour."

For months, inquirers continued to multiply, and Moung Nau, who was often with Mr. Judson, rendered him important assistance in explaining things to new comers. Meanwhile, he himself seemed rapidly advancing in christian knowledge and divine grace. The following paper, written of his own accord, was read by the missionaries, after partaking of the Lord's supper, in the evening of the sixth of June:

"I, Moung Nau, the constant recipient of your excellent favor, approach your feet. Whereas, my lords three have come to the country of Burmah, not for the purpose of trade, but to preach the religion of Jesus Christ, the Son of the eternal God, I, having heard and understood, am with a joyful mind filled with love.

"I believe that the Divine Son, Jesus Christ, suffered death in the place of men, to atone for their sins. Like a heavy laden man, I feel my sins are very many. The punishment of my sins I deserve to suffer. Since it is so, do you, sirs, consider that I, taking refuge in the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, and receiving baptism, in order to become his disciple, shall dwell one with yourselves, a band of brothers, in the happiness of heaven, and therefore grant me the ordinance of baptism. It is through the grace of Jesus Christ, that you, sirs, have come by ship from one country and continent to another, and that we have met together. I pray my lords three, that a suitable day may be appointed, and that I may receive the ordinance of baptism.

"Moreover, as it is only since I have met with you, sirs, that I have known about the eternal God, I venture to pray that you will still unfold to me the religion of God, that my old disposition may be destroyed, and my new disposition improved."

After reading this document, the missionaries voted to receive its author into the church, and he was baptized on the 27th of the same month. The exercises on the occasion, and Mr. Judson's feelings, are thus briefly and feelingly recorded by his own pen:

"There were several strangers present at worship. After the usual course, I called Moung Nau before me, read and commented on an appropriate portion of Scripture, asked him several questions concerning his faith, hope, and love, and made the baptismal prayer, having concluded to have all the preparatory exercises done in the zayat. We then proceeded to a large pond in the vicinity, the bank of which is *graced* with an enormous image of Gaudama, and there administered baptism to the first Burman convert. O, may it prove the beginning of a series of baptisms in the Burman empire, which shall continue in uninterrupted succession to the end of time!"

It is said, that when Dr. Carey led the first Hindoo convert to Christianity into the Ganges, Mr. Ward exclaimed, with transport, "The chain of caste is broken, and who shall be able to mend it?" while another missionary eloquently apostrophized as follows: "Ye gods of stone and clay, did ye not tremble when, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one of your votaries shook you as dust from his feet?" And, when Mr. Judson buried

Moung Nau in baptism, scenes as sublime as the crumbling of clay-built gods, doubtless passed before his eye. Glancing forward through the vista of coming years, he beheld "a series of baptisms in the Burman empire," which thickened and widened as it progressed, to be interrupted only with the interruption and cessation of time.

On the 4th of July, 1819, Mr. Judson and his associates celebrated the Lord's sufferings and death, and had the happiness of communing, for the first time, with a converted Burman. On that memorable occasion, Mr. Judson enjoyed a privilege he had long desired and anxiously looked for, that of administering the Lord's supper in two languages.

While there is joy in heaven over one repentant sinner, so, in some instances, there is great joy on earth, on account of a single conversion. Such was the case when Krishno embraced the truth — the Hindoo for whose conversion Dr. Thomas labored, at Bengal, seventeen years; such was emphatically the case, when Moung Nau made a profession of faith. The joy over the latter's conversion, was not limited to the few missionaries who witnessed his baptism, and first communed with him at the Lord's table; it was not limited to the East; when the news of it reached America, a thrill of joy ran through every heart that had breathed its desires at a throne of grace for the success of missions. We once heard a gentleman remark, that when the pastor of a Baptist church in the eastern part of New Hampshire, read to his congregation, in a conference meeting, the account of this heathen's conversion, an aged and very pious deacon, whose contributions had been liberally made for missions, sprang upon his feet and exclaimed, "I 've a brother in Burmah! I 've a brother in Burmah!" and, as he repeated these words, he pressed his hands to his face, and the tears oozed through his fingers. This anecdote beautifully illustrates the principle, that one's happiness, in the success of an enterprise, depends upon the interest he takes in it, and the freeness with which he contributes to carry it forward. "The truly generous" is not only the "truly wise," as Home asserts, but the truly happy.

During the months of May and June, while the missionaries had been cheered and encouraged by the visits of inquirers, they were also visited, repeatedly, by a more annoying class, namely, tax-gatherers: their demands it was not deemed proper to dispute, though they were extremely vexatious.

In the latter month, the missionaries learned that the king had "gone up to amuse himself in the celestial regions;" or, in truer English, had gone down to an idolater's hopeless grave. He was succeeded by his grandson—mentioned in a previous chapter—who put one uncle to death, and imprisoned another, in order to clear the way to the throne.

Aside from attending to the inquiries of daily new comers at the zayat, Mr. Judson revised his first tract, in the month of July, and enlarged it by adding several prayers and some other matter. The new edition was called, a "View of the Christian Religion, in four parts—Historical, Practical, Preceptive, and Devotional." It was sent to Serampore, where Mr. Hough printed an edition of five thousand copies, which was five times the number of the original edition.

In August, 1819, the mission met with its first loss of laborers. On the 7th of that month, Mr. Wheelock, whose health, as we have before stated, began to decline soon after his arrival at Rangoon, embarked for Bengal, in a very low state. On the voyage he was deprived of reason by a violent fever; and in this state, on the 20th, plunged into the sea, and disappeared, there to await its giving up of the dead. He died at the early age of twenty-three. One of the first to respond to the appeal of the Burman apostle for assistant reapers, he was the first to respond to the call of Providence, to lay his sickle aside; and his name is written at the head of a martyr-roll, which embraces many of the true heroes of the age, whose memory will be sacred to the family of Christ in all coming time.

Mrs. Wheelock, who was with her husband when he perished, proceeded to Bengal, where she was subsequently married to Mr. Jones, of Calcutta. Thus the station at Rangoon was early deprived of two of its missionaries.

CHAPTER VII.

New Inquirers, with a Description of one of Them — More Baptisms — Signs of Persecution — Mr. Judson decides to visit the King.

Among the persons who frequented the zayat in the autumn of 1819, were Moung Thah-lah, Moung Byaa, and Moung Shwa-Gnong. The last was a teacher, a man of learning, and a skeptic. As he will be frequently mentioned hereafter, we transcribe some portions of Mr. Judson's journal, relating to his visits, character, &c. He first came to the zayat on the 26th of August:

"August 27. The teacher Moung Shwa-Gnong came again, and stayed from noon till quite dark. We conversed incessantly the whole time; but I fear that no real impression is made on his proud, skeptical heart. He, however, promised to pray to the eternal God, through Jesus Christ, and appeared at times to be in deep thought. He is a man of very superior argumentative powers. His conversation would probably shake the faith of many."

"SEPTEMBER 3. A great crowd of company through the whole day; the teacher, Moung Shwa-Gnong, from ten o'clock till quite dark, with several of his adherents. He is a complete Proteus in religion, and I never know where to find him. We went over a vast deal of ground, and ended where we began, in apparent incredulity.

"After he was gone, Moung Ing, who has been listening all day, followed me home to the house, being invited to stay with Moung Nau through the night. We conversed all the evening, and his expressions have satisfied us all, that he is one of God's chosen people. His exercises have been of a much stronger character than those of the others, and he expresses himself in the most decided manner. He desires to become a disciple in profession, as well as heart, and declares his readiness to suffer persecution and death for the love of Christ. When I stated the danger to which he was exposing himself, and asked him whether he loved Christ better than his own life, he replied, very deliberately and solemnly, 'When I meditate on this religion, I know not what it is to love my own life.' Thus the poor fisherman, Moung Ing, is taken, while the learned teacher, Moung Shwa-Gnong, is left."

"SEPTEMBER 11. Moung Shwa-Gnong has been with me all day. It appears that he accidentally obtained the idea of an eternal Being, about eight years ago; and it has been floating about in his mind and disturbing his Buddhist ideas ever since. When he heard of us, which was through one of his adherents, to whom I had given a tract, this idea received considerable confirmation; and to-day he has fully admitted the truth of this first grand principle. The latter part of the day, we were chiefly employed in discussing the possibility and necessity of a divine revelation, and the evidence which proves that the writings of the apostles of Jesus contain that revelation; and I think I may say, that he is half inclined to admit all this. He is certainly a most interesting case. The way seems to be prepared in his mind, for the special operation of divine grace. Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove!

"His conversion seems peculiarly desirable, on account of his superior talents and extensive acquaintance with Burman and Pali literature. He is the most powerful reasoner I have yet met with in this country, excepting my old teacher, Oo Oungmen, (now dead,) and he is not at all inferior to him."

In the evening of October 23d, Moung Thah-lah and Moung Byaa presented Mr. Judson a paper, containing their profession of faith in Christ, and a request to be privately baptized. The peculiarity of this request was doubtless owing to fears of persecution and death, a renunciation of Buddhism forfeiting life.

Moung Shwa-Gnong began about this time to be troubled in the same way. After an absence of three weeks, he called on Mr. Judson October 29th, but appeared less eager to investigate religious truth, and was quite anxious to curtail his visit. Some one, it seems, had mentioned him to the viceroy as an abandoner of Buddhism, and the informant was ordered to make further inquiries about him. Learning this fact, Moung Shwa-Gnong became alarmed, and went to the Mangen teacher, and doubtless made apologies as well as explanations.

On the 6th of November, Moung Thah-lah and Moung Byaa again petitioned for baptism. Their first request had been deferred, not because the missionaries could gain no evidence that they possessed divine grace, but because their love for Christ had not become strong enough to overcome the fears of martyrdom. They had been recommended to wait, and prayerfully reconsider the matter. In their second petition, they requested to be baptized at sunset, in as secluded a place as was convenient. "We spent some hours," writes Mr. Judson, "in again discussing the subject with them, and with one another. We felt satisfied that they were humble disciples ot Jesus, and were desirous of receiving this ordinance, purely out of regard to his command, and their own spiritual welfare; we felt, that we were all equally exposed to danger, and needed a spirit of mutual candor, and forbearance, and sympathy; we were convinced that they were influenced rather by desires of avoiding unnecessary exposure, than by that sinful fear, which would plunge them into apostasy in the hour of trial; and when they assured us, that, if actually brought before government, they could not think of denying their Saviour, we could not conscientiously refuse their request, and therefore agreed to have them baptized to-morrow at sunset."

The scene which the twilight of the next day — the Sabbath — witnessed, was one of uncommon interest, and is briefly described by Mr. Judson, in a strain of rare beauty. The little company of worshipers at the zayat had dispersed, when, about half an hour before sunset, the two candidates returned, accompanied by three or four of their friends. A short prayer was offered, and the little band resorted to the spot consecrated by the baptism of Moung Nau. "The sun was not allowed to look upon the humble, timid profession. No wondering crowd crowned the overshadowing hill. No hymn of praise expressed the exultant feelings of joyous hearts. Stillness and solemnity pervaded the scene. We felt, on the banks of the water, as a little, feeble, solitary band. But, perhaps, some hovering angels took note of the event, with more interest than they witnessed the late coronation; perhaps Jesus looked down on us, pitied and forgave our weaknesses, and marked us for his own; perhaps, if we deny Him not, He will acknowledge us another day, more publicly than we venture, at present, to acknowledge Him."

In the evening of the same day, the missionaries sat down at the table of the Lord with the newly baptized converts, and enjoyed the gracious presence of their Saviour. Three days after, in the evening, when Mr. Judson met, with the three converts, for prayer, two of them took part in the exercises, making "a little beginning, such as must be expected from the first essay of converted heathens." In the evening of the 14th, four days later, the three converts repaired to the zayat of their own accord, and held a similar meeting among themselves; a trifling circumstance, it may seem, in the eyes of some, but it was recorded by Mr. Judson as a memorable incident, and justly viewed as a happy omen.

On the 4th of December, Mr. Judson received another visit from Moung Shwa-Gnong, and wrote the following interesting account of it:

"After several hours spent in metaphysical cavils, he owned that he did not believe any thing that he had said, and had only been trying me and the religion, being determined to embrace nothing but what he found unobjectionable and impregnable. 'What,' said he, 'do you think that I would pay you the least attention, if I found you could not answer all my questions, and solve all my difficulties?' He then proceeded to say, that he really believed in God, his Son Jesus Christ, the atonement, &c. Said I, (knowing his deistical weakness,) 'Do you believe all that is contained in the book of Matthew, that I have given you? In particular, do you believe that the Son of God died on a cross?' 'Ah,' replied he, 'you have caught me now. I believe that he suffered death, but I can not admit that he suffered the shameful death of the cross.' 'Therefore,' said I, 'you are not a disciple of Christ. A true disciple inquires not whether a fact is agreeable to his own reason, but, whether it is in the book.

His pride has yielded to divine testimony. Teacher, your pride is still unbroken. Break down your pride, and yield to the word of God.’ He stopped and thought. ‘As you utter these words,’ said he, ‘I see my error; I have been trusting in my own reason, not in the word of God.’ Some interruption now occurred. When we were again alone, he said, ‘This day is different from all days on which I have visited you. I see my error in trusting in my own reason; and I now believe the crucifixion of Christ, because it is contained in the Scripture.’ Some time after, speaking of the uncertainty of life, he said he thought he should not be lost, though he died suddenly. Why? ‘Because I love Jesus Christ.’ Do you really love him? ‘No one that really knows him, can help loving him.’ And so he departed.”

During the month of November, the calls at the zayat became daily less frequent, so that by the last of the month it was not uncommon for Mr. Judson to sit a whole day without being visited. His object had become gradually known in Rangoon and the neighboring country; curiosity had abated, and fear kept serious inquirers away.

The missionaries had received no serious disturbance while living in retirement, but when the zayat was opened on a road noted for the number of its pagodas, and the natives commenced thronging it for religious instruction, the government began to be suspicious. Mr. Judson now became convinced that banishment or death would, ere that date, have been the fate of himself and his associates, had the ecclesiastical leaders supposed the new religion would meet with general favor among the people. He concluded that it would be necessary, in order to his success, to visit the emperor at Amarapura, at that time the capital of the country, and frankly make known the object of his mission to Burmah, and ask for the toleration of the religion he had come to teach.

CHAPTER VIII.

Messrs. Judson and Colman embark for the Capital — Voyage up the Irrawaddy — Introduction to the King — His Rejection of their Petition — They return to Rangoon — Interview with the Native Converts — Mr. and Mrs. Colman go to Chittagong — Death of Mr. Colman.

Having made arrangements necessary for the comfort of their families, Messrs. Judson and Colman embarked for the seat of Burman dynasty, on the 22d of December, 1819. The company consisted of sixteen persons besides themselves; ten rowmen, a steersman, a headsman, Moung Nau, who acted as steward for the company, a cook for the missionaries, a washerman, and an Englishman, who took charge of the guns and blunderbusses. These weapons were indispensable, the river being infested with robbers. The missionaries took with them a Bible in six volumes, elegantly bound, and each volume enclosed in a richly ornamented wrapper, as a present to the emperor; also several pieces of fine cloth, and some other articles, for the members of the government.*

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* The organs of the Burman administration, and higher orders of nobility, are the woongyees, and the atwenwoons. The former

On the 17th of January, 1820, they reached Pahgan, a celebrated city, between two and three hundred miles from Rangoon. It was the seat of a former dynasty. The next day Mr. Judson strolled among its extensive ruins, and surveyed its pagodas and other monuments of idolatry and decaying splendor. He ascended, he says, "as far as possible, some of the highest edifices, and at the height of one hundred feet, perhaps, beheld all the country around, covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size — some in utter ruin — some fast decaying, — and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us. The pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque, decapitated relic ot antiquity, checkered the motley scene. All conspired to suggest those elevated and mournful ideas, which are attendant on a view of the decaying remains of ancient grandeur; and though not comparable to such ruins as those of Palmyra and Balbec, (as they are represented,) still, deeply interesting to the antiquary, and more deeply interesting to the christian missionary. Here, about eight hundred years ago, the religion of Buddh was first publicly recognized and established as the religion of the empire.

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rank next to the royal family; are the public ministers of state, and constitute the supreme court. They issue the royal edicts in their own name. Their number is usually four, never more than six. The atwenwoons are the cabinet officers or private counselors, and usually the same in number as the woongyees. Their offices are not hereditary, and they often rise from obscurity. Kingship is the only inherited honor in the empire.

"Here, then, Ah-rah-han, the first Buddhist apostle of Burmah, under the patronage of King Anan-ra-tha-men-zan, disseminated the doctrines of atheism, and taught his disciples to pant after annihilation, as the supreme good. Some of the ruins before our eyes were probably the remains of pagodas designed by himself. We looked back on the centuries of darkness that are past. We looked forward, and christian hope would fain brighten the prospect. Perhaps we stand on the dividing line of the empires of darkness and light. O, shade of Shen Ah-rah-han! weep o'er thy fallen fanes; retire from the scenes of thy past greatness. But thou smilest at my feeble voice. Linger, then, thy little remaining day. A voice mightier than mine, a still, small voice, will ere long sweep away every vestige of thy dominion. The churches of Jesus will soon supplant these idolatrous monuments, and the chanting of the devotees of Buddh will die away before the christian hymn of praise."

On the 25th of the same month, they passed Ava, the seat of the dynasty that immediately preceded that at Amarapura; and in the afternoon of the same day, came in sight of the capital, distant nearly four hundred miles from Rangoon. The next day they gazed upon its glittering pagodas, and the dazzling steeple of the palace, whither they were about to "prostrate themselves at the golden feet," as their visit to the emperor would be called by Orientals. The introduction of the missionaries at the Burman court is best described by the graphic pen of Mr. Judson:

"JANUARY 27. We left the boat, and put ourselves under the conduct of Moung Yo.* He carried us first to Mya-day-men, as a matter of form; and there we learned that the emperor had been privately apprised of our arrival, and said, 'Let them be introduced.' We therefore proceeded to the palace. At the outer gate we were detained a long time, until the various officers were satisfied that we had a right to enter, after which we deposited a present for the private minister of state, Moung Zah, and were ushered into his apartments in the palace yard. He received us very pleasantly, and ordered us to sit before several governors and petty kings, who were waiting at his levee. We here, for the first time, disclosed our character and object; told him, that we were missionaries, or 'propagators of religion;' that we wished to appear before the emperor, and present our sacred books, accompanied with a petition. He took the petition into his hand, looked over about half of it, and then familiarly asked several questions about our God and our religion, to which we replied. Just at this crisis, some one announced that the golden foot was about to advance; on which the minister hastily rose up, and put on his robes of state, saying, that he must seize the moment to present us to the emperor. We now found, that we had unwittingly fallen on an

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[*] Moung Yo was a favorite officer of Mya-day-men, who was a woongyee, or minister of state, and formerly viceroy of Rangoon.

unpropitious time, it being the day of the celebration of the late victory over the Cassays, and the very hour when his majesty was coming forth to witness the display made on the occasion. When the minister was dressed, he just said, 'How can you propagate religion in this empire? But, come along.' Our hearts sunk at these inauspicious words. He conducted us through various splendor and parade, until we ascended a flight of stairs, and entered a most magnificent hall. He directed us where to sit, and took his place on one side; the present was placed on the other, and Moung Yo, and another officer of Mya-day-men, sat a little behind. The scene to which we were now introduced really surpassed our expectation. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole completely covered with gold, presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and those evidently were great officers of state. Our situation prevented us from seeing the further avenue of the hall; but the end where we sat opened into the parade which the emperor was about to inspect. We remained about five minutes, when every one put himself in the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo whispered, that his majesty had entered. We looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught sight of this modern Ahasuerus. He came forward unattended — in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive, and he carried in his hand the gold-sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the scepter of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye, that chiefly riveted our attention. He strided on. Every head, excepting ours, was now in the dust. We remained kneeling, our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention. He stopped, partly turned toward us: 'Who are these?' The teachers, great king, I replied. 'What, you speak Burman — the priests that I heard of last night?' 'When did you arrive?' 'Are you teachers of religion?' 'Are you like the Portuguese priest?' 'Are you married?' 'Why do you dress so?' These, and some other similar questions, we answered; when he appeared to be pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat — his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, and it ran thus:

"'The American teachers present themselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing, that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions, and having obtained leave of the governor of that town, to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred scriptures of our religion. And since it is contained in those scriptures, that, if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion, will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy, without decay or death, the eternal felicity of heaven,— that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to and be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from government molestation, they present themselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea.'

"The emperor heard this petition, and stretched out his hand. Moung Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read it through. In the meantime, I gave Moung Zah an abridged copy of the tract, in which every offensive sentence was corrected, and the whole put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back, without saying a word, and took the tract. Our hearts now rose to God, for a display of his grace. 'O have mercy on Burmah! Have mercy on her king!' But, alas! the time was not yet come. He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, beside Him, there is no God;

and then, with an air of indifference, perhaps disdain, he dashed it down to the ground! Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to us. Moung Yo made a slight attempt to save us, by unfolding one of the volumes which composed our present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice. Our fate was decided. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will, in the following terms: 'Why do you ask for such permission? Have not the Portuguese, the English, the Musselmans, and people of all other religions, full liberty to practise and worship according to their own customs? In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them, take them away.'

"Something was now said about brother Colman's skill in medicine; upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth, and said, 'Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly.' He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and there, after having dashed to the ground the first intelligence that he had ever received of the eternal God, his Maker, his Preserver, his Judge, he threw himself down on a cushion, and lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him!

"As for us and our present, we were huddled up and hurried away, without much ceremony. We passed out of the palace gates, with much more facility than we entered, and were conducted first to the house of Mya-day-men. There his officer reported our reception, but in as favorable terms as possible; and as his highness was not apprized of our precise object, our repulse appeared, probably, to him, not so decisive, as we knew it to be. We were next conducted two miles through the sun and dust of the streets of Ava, to the residence of the Portuguese priest. He very speedily ascertained, that we were in possession of no wonderful secret, which would secure the emperor from all disease, and make him live for ever; and we were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend inquisitor, and retreat to our boat.

"At this stage of the business, notwithstanding the decided repulse we had received, we still cherished some hope of ultimately gaining our point. We regretted that a sudden interruption had prevented our explaining our objects to Moung Zah, in that familiar and confidential manner which we had intended; and we determined, therefore, to make another attempt upon him in private.

"JANUARY 28.—Early in the morning, we had the pleasure of seeing our friend Mr. Gauger coming to our boat. It may not be amiss to mention, that he is the collector, who was chiefly instrumental in relieving us from the exorbitant demand, which, a few months ago, was made upon us in Rangoon. He now told us, that he had heard of our repulse, but would not have us give up all hope; that he was particularly acquainted with Moung Zah, and would accompany us to his house, a little before sunset, at an hour when he was accessible. This precisely accorded with our intentions.

"We went to the house of Moung Zah, some way beyond the palace. He received us with great coldness and reserve. Mr. Gauger urged every argument that we suggested, and some others. He finally stated that, if we obtained the royal favor, other foreigners would come and settle in the empire, and trade would be greatly benefited. This argument alone seemed to have effect on the mind of the minister, and, looking out from the cloud which covered his face, he vouchsafed to say, that, if we would wait some time, he would endeavor to speak to his majesty about us. From this remark it was impossible to derive any encouragement, and having nothing further to urge, we left Mr. Gauger, and, bowing down to the ground, took leave of this great minister of state, who, under the emperor, guides the movements of the whole empire.

"It was now evening. We had four miles to walk by moonlight. Two of our disciples only followed us. They had pressed as near as they ventured to the door of the hall of audience, and listened to words which sealed the extinction of their hopes and ours. For some time we spoke not.

'Some natural tears we dropt, but wiped them soon.
The world was all before us, where to choose
Our place of rest, and Providence our guide.'

And, as our first parents took their solitary way through Eden, hand in hand, so we took our way through this great city, which, to our late imagination, seemed another Eden; but now, through the magic touch of disappointment, seemed blasted and withered, as if smitten by the fatal influence of the cherubic sword.

"Arrived at the boat, we threw ourselves down, completely exhausted in body and mind. For three days, we had walked eight miles a day, the most of the way in the heat of the sun, which, even at this season, in the interior of these countries, is exceedingly oppressive; and the result of our travels and toils has been—the wisest and best possible—a result which, if we could see the end from the beginning, would call forth our highest praise. O slow of heart to believe and trust in the constant presence and overruling agency of our almighty Saviour!"

With their plans thwarted, and their fond hopes blighted, the missionaries set out on their return to Rangoon, on the 29th of January. Fourteen days afterward, they stopped for the night at a town called Pyee, where they met Moung Shwa-Gnong. He had declined accompanying them to the capital, but just after they pushed off from Rangoon, he ran up to the wharf, raised his hand to his head, bade them adieu, and continued to look after them, until the boat was lost behind a projecting point. His mission to Pyee was professedly to visit a sick friend, though it is likely he had a double object in view, he having a secret desire, no doubt, to meet the missionaries, and ascertain the result of their visit. When told that their petition and presents had been trampled beneath the *golden foot*, and of the danger that must attend further efforts to propagate the new religion, he manifested no serious alarm, but repeated, with calmness, and in a firm voice, the most prominent points of christian faith, and showed by all he said, that he had great interest in the success of the mission. Mr. Judson hinted to him, that the missionaries would probably leave Rangoon, when he replied: "Say not so; there are some who will investigate, notwithstanding; and, rather than have you quit Rangoon, I will go to the Mangen teacher and have a dispute. I know I can silence him. I know the truth is on my side." Hearing this remark, Mr. Judson told him to remember that the Mangen teacher had a pair of fetters and an iron mall as offsets to his tongue—and thus ended the conversation.

Pleased with the appearance of Moung Shwa-Gnong, but with spirits still dejected, and with no hope of other than divine countenance of their sacred work, the missionaries pushed on, and arrived at Rangoon on the 18th of February. Convening the three disciples without delay, they narrated their adventures at Amarapura, and stated that they contemplated leaving Rangoon and establishing a mission, Providence aiding them, in a district between Bengal and Arracan.

Far from being intimidated at the conduct of the emperor, the disciples began, with much composure and earnestness, to explain away difficulties, and to persuade the teachers not to look upon their cause in those parts as hopeless. They all entreated them not to think of abandoning the mission; but, in case they should do it, two of them, Moung Nau and Moung Thah-lah, said they should accompany them, being determined, as one of them remarked, to "go where preaching is to be had." Moung Byee said that, being a married man, he could not follow his teachers; but, if left alone, he should continue to perform the duties of "Jesus Christ's religion."

Bringing with him a brother-in-law, named Moung Myat-yah, the last mentioned convert soon had another interview with the missionaries, which Mr. Judson thus describes:

"'Teacher,' said he, 'my mind is distressed; I can neither eat nor sleep, since I find you are going away. I have been around among those who live near us, and I find some who are even now examining the new religion. Brother Myat-yah is one of them, and he unites with me in my petitions. (Here Myat-yah assented that it was so.) Do stay with us a few months. Do stay till there are eight or ten disciples. Then appoint one to be the teacher of the rest; I shall not be concerned about the event; though you should leave the country, the religion will spread of itself. The emperor himself cannot stop it. But if you go now, and take the two disciples that can follow, I shall be left alone. I cannot baptize those who may wish to embrace this religion. What can I do?' Moung Nau came in, and expressed himself in a similar way. He thought that several would yet become disciples, notwithstanding all opposition, and that it was best for us to stay awhile. We could not restrain our tears at hearing all this; and we told them, that, as we lived only for the promotion of the cause of Christ among the Burmans, if there was any prospect of success in Rangoon, we had no desire to go to any other place, and would, therefore, reconsider the matter."

The result of the reconsideration was, that Mr. and Mrs. Judson concluded to remain, and Mr. and Mrs. Colman to proceed to Chittagong, and there form a station, as a refuge for the missionaries and converts, should it be found necessary for them to flee from Rangoon. Accordingly, Mr. and Mrs. Colman embarked for Bengal, in March, 1820, and arrived at Chittagong in June. They commenced their labors at Cox's Bazaar, an unhealthy town of about two thousand inhabitants. There Mr. Colman died of the jungle fever, on the 4th of July, 1822. His wife returned to Bengal, and was subsequently married to Rev. Amos Sutton, an English missionary, who has labored many years at Orissa, in Hindostan.

CHAPTER IX.

More Conversions — Progress of the Work of Translating the New Testament — Sickness of Mrs. Judson — Mr. Judson repairs with her to Bengal — Their Return — The Native Converts — The new Viceroy — Moung Ing — Mrs. Judson's Ill Health, and Departure for America — Clouds — Their Dispersion — Arrival of Dr. Price — Return of Mr. Hough.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson were once more alone at the Rangoon station, with dim prospects of being permitted long to remain there. Defeated in his attempts to secure the favor of the emperor, Mr. Judson would not now be surprised, at any moment, to receive orders to leave the country. Still, strong inducements presented themselves for him to remain; and, trusting in Providence for protection, he resolved to toil on, until peremptorily commanded to leave.

The converts were now giving evidence of healthy spiritual growth; the number of inquirers was gradually increasing; and a few of the latter class seemed to be entering the vestibule of mercy. Among these were Oo Yan and Moung Shwa-ba. The former was a learned casuist, and a subtle and zealous disputer. His peculiar tenets are thus described by Mr. Judson:

> "He was ready to admit, that the atheistic system of the Buddhists was not tenable; but endeavored to fortify himself on a middle system, between that and the christian; the very system in which Moung Shwa-Gnong formerly rested, and which, for distinction's sake, may be fitly termed the semi-atheistic. Its fundamental doctrine is, that divine wisdom, not concentrated in any existing spirit, or embodied in any form, but diffused throughout the universe, and partaken in different degrees by various intelligences, and in a very high degree by the Buddhs, is the true and only God. This poor system, which is evidently guilty of suicide, Oo Yan made every possible effort to keep alive; but I really think, that in his own mind, he felt the case to be hopeless. His mode of reasoning, however, is soft, insinuating, and acute; and so adroitly did he act his part, that Moung Shwa-Gnong, with his strong arm, and I, with the strength of truth, were scarcely able to keep him down."

Moung Shwa-ba was introduced to Mr. Judson by Moung Thah-lah on the 21st of March, 1820, and three days after gave clear evidence of conversion. He was baptized on the 20th of the following month.

About this time, a woman, named Mah Men-la, who had renounced the religion of Gaudama some years before, and become semi-atheistic, was frequently at the zayat. She had met with Mr. Judson's tract two years before, and derived therefrom the idea of an eternal God. The following brief extract from Mr. Judson's journal, in reference to her, is very interesting:

"APRIL 20. Mah Men-la and her friends have been with Mrs. Judson all day. She gives increasing evidence of being a real disciple; but is extremely timid, through fear of persecution. One of her remarks deserves notice as a natural expression of true christian feeling. 'I am surprised,' said she, 'to find this religion has such an effect on my mind, as to make me love the disciples of Christ more than my dearest natural relations.' She is a woman of very superior discernment and mental energy. One of the women who have frequently accompanied her in her visits, met with a tract at old Pegu, about six weeks ago, and came all the way to Rangoon, chiefly, she says, on that account."

On the day that he penned the above remarks, Mr. Judson finished the translation of Ephesians, which he had commenced before going to Amarapura, but had been obliged to relinquish, on account of weakness of the eyes. At the same date, he had the book of Acts under way, and declared his intention to give it to the young pupils in the school of Christ as fast as he possibly could. Heretofore, he could give them only the gospel of Matthew; now, he had the happiness of placing a second book of the New Testament in their hands, with the prospect of soon being able to feed them still more bountifully on the manna of divine truth; and the good man makes a record of his joy and gratitude to God for manifold mercies. He then speaks of the progress of religious inquiry, and of other matters of sufficient importance to be transcribed:

"April 30.—Lord's-day. One of the busiest days I have ever spent. Not a multitude of visitants, as formerly. That we can not expect in present circumstances. But, beside the usual evening assembly, there were eight or ten present at worship, some of whom were with me from nine in the morning till ten at night. Mah Men-la and her company were with Mrs. Judson, who has had a serious attack of the liver complaint, for a fortnight past, and is now in a course of salivation.

"Oo Yan, after having searched out all the difficult points of religion, came to-day to the *ne plus ultra*—How are sin and eternal misery reconcilable with the character of an infinitely holy, wise, and powerful God? He at length obtained such satisfaction, that he could not restrain laughing, from pure mental delight, and kept recurring to the subject, and repeating my remarks to those around him. He was accompanied, as usual, by his two friends, Moung Thah-a and Moung Myat-lah, husband of Mah Men-la. With these came also one Moung Yo, a disciple of Moung Shwa-Gnong, a poor man, but a sharp reasoner. He was, or pretended to be, on the semi-atheistic plan. After ascertaining his precise ground, I used an argument, which, in a late combat with Oo Yan, I found quite invincible. It is simply this: 'No mind, no wisdom—temporary mind, temporary wisdom—eternal mind, eternal wisdom.' Now, as all the semi-atheists firmly believe in eternal wisdom, this concise statement sweeps with irresistible sway, through the very joints and marrow of their system. And though it may seem rather simple and inconclusive, to one acquainted with Burman reasoning, its effect is uniformly decisive. No sooner is this short sentence uttered, than one significantly nods his head, as if to say, There you have it. Another cries out to the opponent, You are undone, destroyed. Another says, Talk about wisdom; where else will you find it? The disputant himself, who was, perhaps, preparing a learned speech about the excellence and efficacy and eternity of wisdom, quite disconcerted by this unexpected onset, sits looking at the wreck of his system, and wondering at the simple means which have spread such ruin around him; presently he looks up, (for the Burmans are frequently candid,) and says, Your words are very appropriate. And perhaps his next question is, How can I become a disciple of the God you worship?

"All the visitors to-day, and indeed all the semi-atheists are despisers of Gaudama, and the established religion of the land. Moung Shwa-Gnong has disseminated this heresy in Rangoon for several years; but since he has become acquainted with us, he frequently tells his adherents, 'I know nothing; if you want true wisdom, go to the foreign teacher, and there you will find it.' I have reason to believe that this heresy is not confined to Rangoon, but is taking root in various parts of the country, and preparing the way for the christian religion. O, for toleration — a little toleration. We will be content to baptize in the night, and hold worship in private; but we do pray that we may not be utterly banished from the land; that we may not be cut up, root and branch. O, that these poor souls who are groping in the dark, feeling after the truth, may have time and opportunities to find the precious treasure, which will enrich them forevermore. We are all looking with anxiety toward the golden feet. Our viceroy, Moung Shwa-thah, has gone thither on a visit; and it is doubtful whether he will return, or his rival Mya-day-men. If the latter, there is some reason to hope that we shall keep footing in Rangoon, at least, during his administration."

Among the visitors at the zayat, in May and June, were Moung Myat-yah, Moung Thah-yah, Moung Gway, and Moung Nyo-dwa. The first two were baptized on the 4th of the latter month, and the last two on the 16th of July. Two days afterward, Moung Shwa-Gnong and Mah Men-la followed in the same delightful ordinance. The latter was the first Burman female baptized, and the tenth convert. While these encouraging events were transpiring, the health of Mrs. Judson was gradually on the decline; and in the early part of July she began to make preparations to sail for Bengal for relief. Her extreme weakness rendered it necessary that Mr. Judson should accompany her, and, amid the tears and pious benedictions of the new-born saints, they embarked on the 19th of the month. Just before going aboard the ship, Mr. Judson addressed a line to Dr. Baldwin, in which he says: "Never did I feel more unwillingness to leave Rangoon, nor was the mission ever in more interesting circumstances than at the present time. Since our return from Ava, I have not ventured to make the least public movement, but confined myself at home, holding private worship, translating the Scriptures, and conversing with those who visited me. The spirit of God has, however, continued operating and carrying on the work, which began before we went up to Ava, at which time we had baptized three.

"All the ten baptized disciples give satisfactory evidence of being true converts. Those of the longest standing are evidently growing christians. Some of them take the lead in prayer meetings, with great propriety; and nearly all of them have made some attempt at this exercise before the church. A good degree of christian affection prevails among them all; the appearance of which, Moung Shwa-Gnong says, convinced him, more than anything else, of the divine origin and efficacy of the christian religion."

The missionaries arrived at Calcutta on the 8th of August. The climate being more salubrious, and the society more congenial at Serampore, Mrs. Judson was soon removed thither. Though under the care of skillful physicians, she gained but little for several months; and Mr. Judson deemed it so important for him to be at Rangoon, that he was about to leave her in the care of their English friends, and return; but about this time she rapidly improved, and concluded to accompany her husband. They arrived at their adopted home on the 5th of January, 1821.

The divine Shepherd had watched over the little flock, in the absence of the missionaries. Four or five met their under shepherd at the wharf, and greeted him and his companion with the warmest salutations; the others, in town, hurried to the mission-house, as soon as the good news of the teacher's return reached them; and that night they there met for prayer. It was a season of great rejoicing, and the prayers then offered must have been freighted with the incense of gratitude and praise.

In about a week after their return, the missionaries were permitted to welcome the only baptized Burman whom they had not previously seen. This was Moung Gway, who hastened in from the jungle as soon as he heard of their arrival.

Although the lives of all the converts had been preserved, one of them, Moung Shwa-Gnong, had narrowly escaped the cruel rigors of heathen law. Soon after Mya-day-men became the ruler of the district where he was living, the priests and officers of the village conspired against him, and seemed to be bent on his destruction. One of them, who was a member of the highest court, stated one day, in the presence of the governor, that Moung Shwa-Gnong was trying "to turn the priests' rice pot bottom side up." To this complaint his excellency answered, "What consequence? Let the priest turn it back again." This remark showed the tolerant disposition of its author, and this trait in his character doubtless saved the life of Moung Shwa-Gnong.

The following extracts of a letter from the pen of Mr. Judson, at this period, indicate his studious habits, his progress in translating, and the prospects of the mission:

RANGOON, April 8, 1821.

MY DEAR BROTHER HOUGH:—I fully intended to send the translation of Acts by the Elizabeth, which carries this letter; but it is not within the compass of possibility. I have sat with the teacher from half past eight in the morning, except dinner time, till five at night, for some time past. The revision was completed yesterday; but I cannot possibly transcribe it in time for the present opportunity. It shall positively be sent by the next, and will, most probably, be accompanied by Ephesians; upon the revision of which, we shall enter immediately.

* * * * * *

No further news of war; but nothing to be expected till after the rains. May-Zoo's son called in just now, and told me that Moung Shwa-thah had made a great effort to supplant the present viceroy, and had been wholly repulsed; the emperor saying that his grandfather, the late emperor, had given the place to Mya-day-men for life. If half of this is true, it is most propitious to the mission. I think we are in no fear of persecution during the administration of the present viceroy. But all things are fluctuating in this country.

On the 20th of May, 1821, Mr. Judson was visited by a new and striking character, a disciple of the great semi-atheistic teacher of the country. His name was Moung Long. Like the rest of the sect, he was, "in reality, a complete skeptic, scarcely believing his own existence." His metaphysics were not wholly unlike those of some living men, and professed scholars, even in christian lands. His wife could not invite him to partake of a dish of rice, without his offering queries touching its nature — whether it was matter or spirit, an idea, or a nonentity. But he who could puzzle his wife with his disgusting gibberish, could not confound Mr. Judson.

"When he first came in, I thought him an ordinary man. He has only one good eye; but I soon discovered that that one eye has as 'great a quantity of being' as half a dozen common eyes. * * * He professed to be an inquirer after the truth; and I accordingly opened to him some parts of the gospel. He listened with great seriousness; and, when I ceased speaking, remained so thoughtful, and apparently impressed with the truth, that I began to hope he would come to some good, and, therefore, invited him to ask some question relative to what he had heard. 'Your servant,' said he, 'has not much to inquire of your lordship. In your lordship's sacred speech, however, there are one or two words which your servant does not understand. Your lordship says, that in the beginning, God created one man and one woman. I do not understand (I beg your lordship's pardon,) what a man is, and why he is called a man.' My eyes were now opened, in an instant, to his real character; and I had the happiness to be enabled, for about twenty minutes, to lay blow after blow upon his skeptic head, with such effect that he kept falling and falling; and, though he made several desperate efforts to get up, he found himself, at last, prostrate on the ground, unable to stir. Moung Shwa-Gnong, who had been an attentive listener, was extremely delighted to see his enemy so well punished; for this Moung Long has sorely harassed him, in time past. The poor fellow, was not, however, in the least angry at his discomfiture; but, in the true spirit of his school, said that, though he had heard much of me, the reality far exceeded the report. Afterward, he joined us in worship, and listened with great attention, as did also his wife."

For several months the holy enterprise was highly favored. Mya-day-men continued tolerant, and inquirers came to the zayat without the terrors of a governmental frown hanging over them. Moung Ing, the second convert, who had been absent from

Rangoon, with one or two others, had now been added to the church;* and Mr. Judson was receiving valuable assistance from Moung Shwa-Gnong and Moung Shwa-ba, in translating the Scriptures.

Having sent the Epistle to the Ephesians and the first part of Acts to Mr. Hough, Mr. Judson next translated the Gospel and Epistles of John, "those exquisitely sweet and precious portions of the New Testament." These he finished in the summer of 1821; and, at the same time, made considerable advancement on the latter part of Acts.

While things were thus prospering, the health of Mrs. Judson was again declining; and the character of her disease had now become so alarming, that it was deemed expedient for her to return to her native land, or seek some other salubrious climate. Deciding to visit America, with a bleeding heart she bade farewell to her husband and the little band of endeared disciples, the objects of her tenderest care and her most earnest prayers, and sailed for Bengal on the 21st of August, 1821. There she was detained three or four months, and at last took a free berth in a vessel bound to England, where she remained until August, 1822; she then took passage for New York, where she arrived on the 25th of the following month. In visiting her kindred in her native state, and in traversing the land, responding to the calls of duty and the wants of the cause in which all her interests were enlisted for life, let us leave her for a season, and return to the sole missionary in the Burman empire, the lone yet cheerful, energetic and intrepid reaper in a desolate and apparently unpromising field. We say *unpromising*, for such it had suddenly become, as will be seen by the tone of a letter which Mr. Judson wrote to Dr. Sharp, dated at Rangoon, September 17th, 1821. The following is an extract:

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* February 25.—Moung Ing presented his petition for baptism and admission into the church; and we unhesitatingly agreed to grant his request, next Lord's day. * * * The manner of his first acquaintance with the truth, is somewhat noticeable: I had conversed with two men, who visited the zayat the preceding evening, and given them a tract. On their way home, they called at the house of the Tsahlen teacher, where Moung Ing resided: said a few things about the eternal God and the new religion, by way of disapproval, and concluded that the tract was good for nothing but to tear up and make segars of. But the truth, which they despised, fell like a flash of lightning on the benighted soul of Moung Ing. The next morning, before sunrise, he was in the porch of the zayat, and, on opening the doors, we found the poor man standing without. He will not, I trust, meet with any such detention at the doors of heaven.—Mr. Judson's Journal, 1821.

"If I had sufficient property, I should think of another visit to Ava; but a thousand rupees of mission money is too much to be thrown away on an improbability. I have some idea, that in a year's residence at court, I should find some influential person, who would procure me favorable access to the presence of the emperor. Unless some word or look can be obtained from his majesty, it seems morally impossible that anything can be done in this country. It is true that, by the operation of the Spirit of God, multitudes can be converted, where the means are used; but, at present, no one dares come near me;

and for me to go out into the streets, and zayats, and pagodas, and proclaim a proscribed religion, would be the height of madness.

"I suppose I feel more disheartened just at present, in consequence of being entirely alone, as I have been since Mrs. Judson's departure, with not a single person in the whole place who can give me a word of advice or encouragement. But I sometimes derive comfort from a higher source, and feel happy in committing the forlorn hope into the hands of the great Captain of our salvation, who is able to keep those who are persecuted from being forsaken, and those who are cast down from being destroyed."

During the month in which this letter was written, another complaint against Moung Shwa-Gnong was brought before the viceroy; and as proof of the correctness of these charges might be presented, and thereby expose his life, he thought it prudent for him to absent himself for a time from those quarters. He came to the mission-house and told Mr. Judson he was about to take his family up the country among the heretical sect who had been his former associates, and that he had come to receive the parting benediction of the teacher, and to obtain some tracts, portions of Scripture, &c., to scatter among the needy. With these he was cheerfully furnished, and the Burman colporteur took his departure.

At the same time, the other converts began to receive the scrutiny of the priests and civil authorities; and, as intimated in the letter to Dr. Sharp, they avoided the zayat entirely. They continued to visit the mission-house, however, and there received instruction which tended to their growth in grace. This circumstance was the only source of encouragement and consolation now left to Mr. Judson, for no inquirers, whatever their anxieties might be, dared come near him.

Such was the state of things the latter part of the year 1821. It was an unpromising period in the history of the mission; and to any other person than Mr. Judson, the darkness might have been impenetrable. *He*,

> "Eager to hope, but not less firm to bear,
> Acquainted with all feelings save despair,"

struggled on, with a fixedness of purpose that no adverse circumstances could bend; laying broader the foundation for his usefulness, when the morn, whose saffron tints his eye of faith seemed ever to descry, should break upon his efforts. By applying himself almost exclusively, and most intensely, to translating, he had, at the close of the year, finished more than one-third of the New Testament, and nearly completed a second translation of Matthew:

On the 13th of December, 1821, he was cheered by the arrival of Rev. Jonathan D. Price and wife, who had been appointed by the Board in the preceding May. The latter died at Rangoon the 2d of May following. She was not allowed to enter fairly upon the great work on which her heart was set; yet she had no murmurings to make. Her illness was exceedingly painful; but patient, resigned, and rejoicing in Christ, she went to the rest reserved for the people of God.

Mr. Price had received a medical, as well as theological education; and was appointed to act in the double capacity of physician and missionary. Shortly after his arrival, Mr. and Mrs. Hough returned with the printing press from Serampore.

During the first half of the year 1822, the prospects of the mission constantly brightened. Opposition gradually abated, until it seemed to have entirely ceased; the zayat was again open; inquirers were calling daily, and before the close of summer, five more persons were baptized. Their names were Mah Doke, Moung Thah-a, May Mee, May Zoo, and Mee Men-oo. The last had been blind, but was now restored through the skill of Dr. Price. She was quite young, *mee*, denoting a girl.

Previous to this addition, the church lost one of its older members, Moung Thah-lah. He died suddenly, of the cholera-morbus, in November, 1821.

Part of the time during the spring and summer of 1822, Mr. Judson was laid by with illness. Writing in his journal on the last day of June, he says: "Am just recovering from severe illness. A few weeks ago, was taken with a fever, slight at first, but daily increasing in violence, until the event became very dubious. On recovering from the effects of the fever, and just resuming the translation, I was suddenly seized with the cholera-morbus, though that disease is not now prevalent in the place; and several hours of suffering elapsed, before medicine took effect. This, with the quantity of laudanum administered, deprived me of the little remaining strength which the fever left me, and I am now scarcely able to hold my pen. It is singular, that last rainy season I was subject to the same diseases, though in a different order; and I ascribe it to the ascendency which the climate of Rangoon is obtaining over my constitution. If it be the will of God, I feel desirous of living to finish the New Testament in Burman,—a work which must otherwise be suspended for some time."

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Judson and Dr. Price visit Ava — Favorable Reception of the Former — Mr Judson's Interviews with Moung Zah, with the King, and Prince M.— Mr. Judson's Negotiations for a Building Lot — Sufficiently gains the End for which he had visited the Capital, and returns to Rangoon — State of the Mission there.

The king having heard of the arrival of Dr. Price, and being desirous to test his medical skill, summoned him to Ava. As the doctor was ignorant of court customs, and unversed in the language, it seemed necessary that Mr. Judson should accompany him. Having decided so to do, a day or two before their embarkation, Mr. Judson addressed a communication to Dr. Baldwin, in which, after mentioning, with other matters, that he had proceeded to the end of the Second of Corinthians, including Ephesians, Hebrews, and the Epistles of John, in translating, when the summons came for Dr. Price to repair to the capital, he says: "For several weeks past, there has been a considerable excitement in the minds of our Burman friends. The assembly on Lord's day has risen to thirty or forty. Five have lately been baptized, and there remain several hopeful inquirers. These circumstances make me very reluctant to leave Rangoon; yet the path of duty seems to lead to Ava. May the Lord direct and prosper this our second attempt to gain some footing in the capital and the palace."

Leaving the station at Rangoon in charge of Mr. Hough, Messrs. Judson and Price set out on the 28th of August, 1822, and arrived at Ava on the 27th of September. They were promptly introduced to his golden majesty, who received Dr. Price with much graciousness, and inquired very particularly about his medical acquirements, but took no notice of Mr. Judson for three or four days, except as interpreter. Moung Zah, whose acquaintance Mr. Judson had made at Amarapura, recognized him at once, and after conversing a short time on the subject of religion, privately encouraged him to remain at the seat of government.

Four days after his arrival, Mr. Judson writes: "To-day, the king noticed me for the first time, though I have appeared before him nearly every day since our arrival. After making some inquiries, as usual, about brother Price, he added, 'And you, in black, what are you? a medical man, too?' 'Not a medical man, but a teacher of religion, your majesty.' He proceeded to make a few inquiries about my religion, and then put the alarming question, whether any had embraced it. I evaded, by saying, 'Not here.' He persisted. 'Are there any in Rangoon?' 'There are a few.' 'Are they foreigners?' I trembled for the consequence of an answer, which might involve the little church in ruin; but the truth must be sacrificed, or the consequences hazarded; and I therefore replied, 'There are some foreigners and some Burmans.' He remained silent a few moments, but presently showed that he was not displeased, by asking a great variety of questions on religion, and geography, and astronomy, some of which were answered in such a satisfactory manner, as to occasion a general expression of approbation in all the court present. After his majesty retired, a Than-dau-tsen (a royal secretary) entered into conversation, and allowed me to expatiate on several topics of the christian religion, in my usual way. And all this took place in the hearing of the very man, now an atwenwoon, who, many years ago, caused his uncle to be tortured almost to death, under the iron mall, for renouncing Buddhism and embracing the Roman Catholic religion! But I knew it not at the time, though, from his age, a slight suspicion of the truth passed across my mind. Thanks to God, for the encouragement of this day! The monarch of the empire has distinctly understood, that some of his subjects have embraced the christian religion, and his wrath has been restrained. Let us then hope, that, as he becomes more acquainted with the excellence of the religion, he will be more and more willing that his subjects should embrace it."

On the 3d of October, the missionaries moved into the house—or, more properly, shed—which had been erected for them by the emperor's orders. It was a temporary structure, and a poor defense against rain and the rapacious curiosity of idle idolaters.

The day following, on the return of the missionaries from the palace, whither they were accustomed to repair immediately after breakfast, Mr. Judson was sent for by Prince M., the emperor's half-brother, who wished to converse with him on science and religion. He had previously called on Dr. Price for medical advice. Being paralytically affected in all his limbs, and thus "cut off from the usual sources of amusement, and having associated a little with the Portuguese padres who have lived at Ava, he has acquired a strong taste for foreign science. My communications," continues Mr. Judson, "interested him very much, and I found it difficult to get away, until brother Price sent expressly for me to go again to the palace."

Soon after this interview, Mr. Judson was taken sick with the fever and ague, with which he was afflicted about ten days. He had a similar attack the early part of the next month. We subjoin portions of his journal written between the two seasons of illness, which will be found particularly interesting:

"October 22.—Brother Price went to Amarapura, to meet a gentleman just arrived from Rangoon, who, we hope, may have letters for us. At night, brother Price returned, with a large parcel of letters, and magazines, and newspapers, from our beloved, far-distant, native land—and what was still more interesting to me, eight sheets from Mrs. Judson on her passage toward England, the first direct intelligence I have received from her since she left Madras roads.

"October 23.—Had some pleasant conversation with Moung Z., in the palace, partly in the hearing of the king. At length his majesty came forward, and honored me with some personal notice for the second time, inquired much about my country, and authorized me to invite American ships to his dominions, assuring them of protection, and offering every facility for the purposes of trade.

"October 28.—Spent the forenoon with Prince M. He obtained for the first time, (though I have explained it to him many times,) some view of the nature of the atonement, and cried out, 'Good, good.' He then proposed a number of objections, which I removed to his apparent satisfaction. Our subsequent conversation turned, as usual, on points of geography and astronomy. He candidly acknowledged, that he could not resist my arguments in favor of the Copernican system; and that, if he admitted them, he must also admit that the Buddhist system was overthrown.

"October 30.—Spent part of the forenoon with Prince M. and his wife, the Princess of S., own sister of the king. Gave her a copy of Mrs. Judson's Burman Catechism, with which she was much pleased. They both appear to be somewhat attached to me, and say, do not return to Rangoon; but, when your wife arrives, call her to Ava.

"November 12.—Spent the whole forenoon with Prince M. and his wife. Made a fuller disclosure than ever before of the nature of the christian religion, the object of christians in sending me to this country, my former repulse at court, and the reason of it, our exposure to persecution in Rangoon, the affair of Moung Shwa-Gnong, &c. &c. They entered into my views and feelings with considerable interest; but both said decidedly, that, though the king would not himself persecute any one on account of religion, he would not give any order exempting from persecution; but would leave his subjects, throughout the empire, to the regular administration of the local authorities.

"After giving the prince a succinct account of my religious experience, I ventured to warn him of his danger, and urged him to make the christian religion his immediate personal concern. He appeared, for a moment, to feel the force of what I said: but soon replied, 'I am yet young, only twenty-eight, I am desirous of studying all the foreign arts and sciences. My mind will then be enlarged, and I shall be capable of judging whether the christian religion be true or not.' 'But suppose your highness changes worlds in the meantime?' His countenance again fell. 'It is true,' said he, 'I know not when I shall die.' I suggested that it would be well to pray to God for light, which, if obtained, would enable him at once to distinguish between truth and falsehood; and so we parted. O, Fountain of light; shed down one ray into the mind of this amiable prince, that he may become a patron of thine infant cause, and inherit an eternal crown."

In accompanying Dr. Price to Ava, Mr. Judson hoped to be able to introduce the christian religion to the consideration of the king and his surrounding magnates; and things now looked favorable for accomplishing this desirable object. Hoping to locate himself there permanently, he was anxious to build a house suitable alike for present and future accommodations; and signifying as much to the king, his golden majesty gave him a lot, but afterward revoked the grant. While negotiating on this matter, Mr. Judson had an interview with him, on the 25th of December, of which we have the following account:

"The king appeared to be attracted by our number, and came toward us; but his conversation was directed chiefly to me. He again inquired about the Burmans who had embraced my religion. 'Are they real Burmans? Do they dress like other Burmans?' &c. I had occasion to remark, that I preached every Sunday. 'What, in Burman?' Yes. 'Let us hear how you preach.' I hesitated. An atwenwoon repeated the order. I began with a form of worship, which first ascribes glory to God, and then declares the commands of the law and the Gospel; after which, I stopped. 'Go on,' said another atwenwoon. The whole court was profoundly silent. I proceeded with a few sentences declarative of the perfections of God, when his majesty's curiosity was satisfied, and he interrupted me. In the course of subsequent conversation, he asked what I had to say of Gaudama. I replied, that we all knew he was son of king Thog-dau-dah-nah; that we regarded him as a wise man and a great teacher, but did not call him God. 'That is right,' said Moung K. N., an atwenwoon who had not hitherto appeared very friendly to me. And he proceeded to relate the substance of a long communication, which I had lately made to him in the privy council room, about God, and Christ, &c. And this he did, in a very clear and satisfactory manner, so that I had scarcely a single correction to make in his statement. Moung Z., encouraged by all this, really began to take the side of God, before his majesty, and said, 'Nearly all the world, your majesty, believe in an eternal God; except Burmah and Siam, these little spots!' His majesty remained silent; and after some other desultory inquiries, he abruptly rose and retired."

Having, at length, secured a lot, which was about a mile from the palace, Mr. Judson went to a woongyee to pay for it, and making known his errand, was thus addressed: "Understand, teacher, that we do not give you the entire owning of this ground. We take no recompense, lest it become American territory! We give it to you for your present residence only; and when you go away, shall take it again." Mr. Judson gave him to understand that, when he himself went away, the persons who furnished funds for building the house, would wish to place another teacher in it; to which intimation, the woongyee replied: "Very well; let him also occupy the place; but when he dies, or when there is no teacher, we will take it." To these terms assent was given, and the bargain closed. Mr. Judson thinks the precaution of the woongyee, was owing to the recollection of some manœuvres of the early English settlers in Bengal.

On the 18th of January, 1823, Mr. Judson removed to Sagaing, opposite Ava, into a house built by Dr. Price, on the precincts of Prince M. He was, at this date, again suffering with the fever and ague, and had hoped that a change of air attending the change of location, would benefit his health, which proved to be the case.

Four days later, having sufficiently gained the end for which he had visited Ava, and being about to return to Rangoon, he called on Prince M. to take leave of him; and was urged to make his absence from Ava as short as possible, and to bring back the whole scriptures, and translatė them, adding that he wished to read all of them.

Two or three days afterward, Mr. Judson went to take leave of the king. He was accompanied by the collector at Rangoon, who had arrived in town the previous evening. "We sat," writes Mr. Judson, a few moments conversing together. 'What are you talking about?' said his majesty. 'He is speaking of his return to Rangoon, replied Mr. L. 'What does he return for? Let them not return. Let them both, (that is brother Price and myself,) stay together. If one goes away, the other must remain alone, and will be unhappy.' 'He wishes to go for a short time only,' replied Mr. L. 'to bring his wife, the female teacher, and his goods, not having brought any thing with him this time; and he will return soon.' His majesty looked at me, 'Will you then come again?' I replied in the affirmative. 'When you come again, is it your intention to remain permanently, or will you go back and forth, as foreigners commonly do?' 'When I come again, it is my intention to remain permanently.' 'Very well,' said his majesty, and withdrew into his inner apartment."

Leaving Dr. Price in high favor at the Burman court, Mr. Judson embarked for Rangoon on the 25th of January, and arrived there on the 2d of February. On the 11th of the latter month, he wrote to Dr. Baldwin, stating that his reception at Ava, as a teacher of Christianity, had been very different from the previous one, and that he was greatly encouraged by the liberal spirit that seemed to prevail in the royal family. "It is distinctly understood," he says, "by the king and by all who have any knowledge of me at all, that I am a thah-thah-nah-pyos-tsayah, that is, a religion-propagating teacher; and yet I have been smiled upon and listened to, and, by order of the king himself, have received from the chief public minister of state, the grant of a small piece of ground for the express purpose of building a kyoung — a house appropriated to sacred characters. It is my intention, therefore, to return thither as soon as Mrs. J. arrives, who, I hear, has gone on to America. And, in the mean time, I shall occupy myself in finishing the translation of the New Testament, a work which I left unfinished with great reluctance, and which I rejoice to have leisure to reäsume."

While the state of things was so promising under the shadow of the throne, clouds were gathering over the station at Rangoon. During Mr. Judson's absence, an intolerant viceroy had succeeded Mya-day-men, and harassing extortions and cruel persecutions had scattered the precious flock of disciples. A portion of them, however, soon collected at the mission-house, and Mr. Judson resumed his labors. Yet these were necessarily very private; and being thus restricted in his public efforts, he devoted much of his time to translating the New Testament. This important work he completed the following June. As an introduction, he prepared an epitome of the Old Testament in twelve sections; containing a compend of Scripture history from the creation of man to the advent of the Saviour, and an abstract of prophecies relating to the latter and his kingdom. The disciples received this work with the eagerness of hungry souls; while to its author it served as a text-book by which he could communicate systematically "much valuable information on the history, types, and prophecies of the Old Testament."

Touching other topics of interest connected with the mission, Mr. Judson wrote as follows to Dr. Sharp, under date of August 5th, 1823:

"I have heard but little from Ava since I left. Prince M. sometimes inquires for me, and wishes to hear more about the christian religion. Brother Price is building a small brick house on the opposite side of the river, the king having given him bricks. I expect to remove as soon as Mrs. Judson returns, from whom I have not, however, received a word of intelligence for nearly ten months. Brother Hough has not yet been able to get types from Bengal; no printing, therefore, has been done since his return.

"I hope it will not be long before the Gospel and Epistles of John are printed. They have been ready for the press above a year, and have been so thoroughly and repeatedly revised, that I flatter myself that subsequent translators will not find it necessary to make many alterations. Indeed, all the Gospels and the Acts are in a tolerable state; the Epistles are still deficient. But I never read a chapter without a pencil in hand, and Griesbach and Parkhurst at my elbow; and it will be an object with me through life, to bring the translation into such a state, that it may be a standard work."

CHAPTER XI.

Mrs. Judson returns to Burmah — Mr. and Mrs. Wade accompany Her — Mr. and Mrs. Judson go to Ava — Coldness of their Reception — Formal Removal of the Seat of Government from Amarapura — War with the Bengal Government — Bombardment of Rangoon, and Persecution of the Missionaries there — Messrs. Hough and Wade go to Calcutta.

On the 5th of December, 1823, Mr. Judson greeted his heroic companion once more on the shores of their adopted land. She had been absent more than two years and a quarter; but she had not been idle. Although her visit to the land of her birth was made in a feeble state, and her health was not fully restored till just before her reëmbarkation for the east, yet during the nine months passed in America, she performed a vast amount of labor, and exerted an incalculable degree of influence for the cause so near her heart. She prepared a history of the Burman mission, which was widely read, and highly commended by journalists of the most critical acumen, in England as well as in this country; attended the fourth meeting of the Triennial Convention, held at

Washington in May, 1823; visited many of the large cities, north and south; and wherever she went, in whatever circle mingled, she told the sad story of Burman idolatry and degradation, and excited fresh interest among christians of almost every denomination, in behalf of the perishing millions of India.

Returning to Rangoon with spirits thoroughly reinvigorated, she reëntered the field with a hopeful heart and inspiring enthusiasm, and seemed like an angel of light amid the cimmerian darkness of paganism. Anxious to do good and fearless of danger, she pressed forward in her high vocation, happily unconscious of the hardships before her, and of the winepress of sorrow she was soon to tread.

At the meeting of the convention held at Washington, and before referred to, Messrs. Jonathan Wade and George D. Boardman presented themselves as candidates for missionary appointment, and the former was soon designated by the Board. He and his wife sailed with Mrs. Judson on the 22d of June, 1823, and the three arrived at Rangoon together.

With the mission thus reinforced, it was decided that there should be a division of labor; that Messrs. Hough and Wade should remain at Rangoon, and Mr. and Mrs. Judson would go to Ava, and attempt to establish a mission beneath the golden eye. The latter were encouraged to make this movement, from the favor with which Mr. Judson had been received by the king and his courtiers, on his previous visit, and from the promising auspices attendant on the professional success of Dr. Price.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson were six weeks in passing up the river. They frequently left the boat, on arriving at a village, and walked through the streets, on which occasions hundreds flocked around them, to behold the first foreign female that ever ascended the Irrawaddy. Some of the least civil and most inquisitive would run some distance ahead, then halt and wheel round, in order to have a "long look" at the strange woman in her novel dress.

Arriving at Ava, the missionaries found themselves without a home or comfortable shelter. Dr. Price, who met them on the way, proffered them a home, but his house was in an unfinished state, and the newly-built brick walls were so damp that Mrs. Judson was thrown into a fever in three hours after entering it. This circumstance forced Mr. and Mrs. Judson to betake themselves to the boat, where they concluded to remain until a building could be erected on the lot procured by Mr. Judson the preceding year.

In two weeks, the contemplated house was finished, and ready for use. It contained three small rooms and a veranda, and was pleasantly situated on the margin of the river. There Mr. Judson immediately began to talk of the great and only true God, holding meetings every evening, and preaching regularly on the Sabbath. At the same time, his wife, in order to make herself useful, opened a school for such Burman girls as could be persuaded to receive instruction. It was commenced with only three pupils;

these she taught not only to read, but to sew, and to do other kinds of domestic labor. Two of them were sisters, and she named them Mary and Abby Hasseltine. They were given to her by their father, the mother being deranged, and consequently unable to take care of them.

This plan of establishing schools for the discipline of heathen children, has been almost universally adopted by Mrs. Judson's successors in the field of missions, and "the little one" which she originated, has "become a thousand." We shall have occasion to show that these schools are potent agencies for enlarging and strengthening native churches.

The reception of Mr. and Mrs. Judson at Ava was not so promising as they had had reason to anticipate. True, an old friend, the widowed wife of a former viceroy of Rangoon, met Mrs. Judson at the boat, on her arrival, and seemed much pleased to see her; and two or three other persons exhibited toward both herself and husband, decided expressions of friendship; but, as a whole, the appearance of things at the very beginning wore an unfavorable aspect. All the atwenwoons with whom Mr. Judson had been formerly acquainted, were now turned out of office, and with the newly appointed ones he had neither acquaintance nor interest. Various causes, he says, in a letter addressed to Dr. Baldwin, and dated at Ava, February 19th, 1824, "have conspired to render the king somewhat disaffected toward foreigners. Brother Price has made but little advance in royal favor. On my appearing at the palace, I found that a year had made great changes. My old friends and advocates before the king, were missing; very few recognized me. At length his majesty came forward, just spoke to me, and accepted a small present. But I have seen him twice since, without obtaining a word or look. The only persons who have received me with real cordiality are Prince M. and his wife; but even they are not much disposed to converse on religion."

In the same communication, Mr. Judson refers to the fact, that rumors of war with the English government were in circulation; and to this circumstance, it is most likely, was owing the wonderful frigidity of the monarch. After speaking of the dangers and vicissitudes to which the missionaries would be exposed, should the rumors have a good foundation, and the English extend their invasion to the capital, he adds: "But, in all cases, we trust we have a few friends at home, who bear us in their hearts at a throne of grace; and a still dearer and greater Friend at the right hand of the divine Presence, in heaven, who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and will graciously succor us in the time of trial, and make us come off conquerors at last. But, my dear and venerable friend and brother, you are, from long experience, more able than I am, to taste the sweetness of this precious truth; and your advanced age, and the grace of Christ enable you to hope that you will ere long be able to adopt the triumphant language of the apostle Paul. Pray for me, that I may be counted worthy to hold out to the end, and finally meet with you before the throne, and handle a harp of gold in the dear Redeemer's praise."

How humble the spirit that here finds utterance; and how appropriate the request, just at this period, for remembrance in the closet! The devoted missionary seems to have a premonition of the sufferings that await him, and, like the Saviour in the garden of Gethsemane, is, on that account, exceedingly sorrowful.

But press on, O man of God! Let thy garments be dyed at Ava, and dye thou the sand-path to Amarapura, and the prison doors that yawn beyond! Thou shalt live through all, and God, by his superabounding grace, shall establish for thee a name above every contemporary's in the catalogue of christian heroes.

A short time after the missionaries had established themselves at Ava, the government was formally removed thither from Amarapura. "In order to make the transfer of the golden presence from one city to the other as striking and impressive as possible," the king, who had been at Ava for two years, superintending the new palace, went up to Amarapura, accompanied by his family, and all else at his command that contributed to the exhibition of royal opulence, majesty, and hauteur. "The ceremony was one of unusual splendor and magnificence, and presented a scene well calculated to fill the imagination with the sublimest conceptions of oriental grandeur and wealth. There were the great officers of state, the woongyees and atwenwoons, in their robes of office, the saupwars of conquered provinces, with their troops of attendants, heroes who had been distinguished in the wars of the empire, and people of every degree, to the number of hundreds of thousands, who had assembled to do homage to the stern monarch of the land and sea, the master of life and death, and lord of the celestial elephant. Shouts and acclamations rent the air, as the imperial retinue approached the gates of the golden city. At the head of the procession, and the most conspicuous and beautiful object which it presented, came the white elephant, with his numerous suite, an object of Burman adoration, covered with jewels and ornaments of gold; next were seen the king and queen in plain attire, the only persons in all the throng who appeared unadorned; following these were the great counselors, both public and private, and the viceroys of provinces and cities, who had come with their retinues from the remotest confines of the empire, to offer fealty to the monarch, and to swell the grandeur of the festival.

"Amidst this splendid array of all the insignia of power and majesty, the king took possession of the new palace, and reëstablished the imperial government in its ancient seat at Ava. The missionaries, with a few European residents at the capital, gazed with wonder upon this unwonted display of grotesque magnificence, made to gratify the pride of the Burman monarch. They were not noticed by the royal pair, and, although Mr. Judson occasionally visited the palace, yet no inquiry was ever made for the female teacher whom the queen had formerly expressed her desire to see in her foreign dress. It was not long before an order was issued that no European should enter the palace, and in a few days afterward, the tidings of the approaching war, which had hitherto been brought only in uncertain rumors, were fully confirmed by intelligence that an English fleet had arrived in the river, and that Rangoon had already fallen into their hands."—GAMMELL'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS.

This war originated in old and festering feuds on the frontier of Chittagong. The Burman government was jealous of the expansion of English dominion, and ambitious to extend its own into Bengal. Such was the condition of things between the two powers, when the king heard it alleged that some of his obnoxious subjects, who had escaped to Chittagong, had been protected by the English crown; and he was so enraged that he forthwith raised thirty thousand men, and put them under the command of a famous warrior named Bandula. With this army, it was confidently, though foolishly, expected the English could be brought to terms.

Learning the intentions of the Burman monarch, and anticipating the invasion by his great general, the British authorities commenced hostilities by the bombardment of Rangoon. The irruption was made by Sir Archibald Campbell, whose forces numbered about six thousand, and were composed of European troops and sepoys.

As might be expected, these movements suspended the operations of the missionaries at Rangoon; and not only so, but their lives were jeoparded. As soon as the English transports appeared in the river, (May 10th,) Messrs. Hough and Wade, and every other person "who wore a hat," were hurried to prison; and the two missionaries were bound together by the legs with ropes, and strongly guarded. "An hour or two afterward," writes Mr. Wade, "the blacksmith came, bringing a rough, heavy chain. It consisted of three links, each about four inches in length, and pounded together so close as to completely prevent it from bending any more than a straight bar of iron. This was designed for Mr. H. and myself. He was first seated, his leg laid upon a block, the ring placed upon the ankle, and then pounded down close with heavy blows. The other ring was put upon my ankle in the same manner. Our situation afforded no convenience for lying down, and, of course, allowed us no sleep, or even rest.

"The next day the guard of the prison was considerably strengthened, and enjoined strictly to keep us close; all communication with our servants, and things without, was cut off. Shortly after, orders from the ray-woon were communicated to our guard through the grates of the prison, viz. that the instant the shipping should open a fire upon the town, they were to massacre all the prisoners without hesitation. This blasted all our hopes. The guards immediately began sharpening their instruments of death with bricks, and brandishing them about our heads, to show with how much dexterity and pleasure they would execute their fatal orders. Upon the place which they intended for the scene of butchery, a large quantity of sand was spread to receive the blood. Among the prisoners reigned the gloom and silence of death — the vast ocean of eternity seemed but a step before us. Mr. H. and myself threw ourselves down upon a matrass, expecting never to rise again, and calmly waited to hear the first gun that should be fired upon the town, as the signal for our certain death.

"In the meantime, an account of our real situation, which we had used various means to conceal, reached the ears of our afflicted wives. Their feelings can be better conceived than expressed. Who can tell with what agony of soul they listened to hear the first gun, the messenger which would relate a tale, more sad and awful than death itself could relate.

"At length the fleet arrived, and the attack commenced. The first ball thrown into the town came with a tremendous noise directly over our heads. Our guards, filled with consternation and amazement, seemingly unable to execute their murderous orders, slunk away into one corner of the prison, where they remained perfectly quiet, until a broadside from the Liffey, which made the prison shake and tremble to its very foundations, so effectually frightened them, that, like children, they cried out through fear; and openly declared their intention of breaking open the door. They soon found means to break open the door: which being done, they all went out, but took the precaution to secure the door again, by fastening it with rattans upon the outside."

About an hour later, during the cessation of firing, forty or fifty armed and furious natives rushed into the prison. "We were instantly seized," continues Mr. Wade, "dragged out of the prison, our clothes torn from our bodies, and our arms drawn behind us with a cord, so tight that it was impossible to move them. I thought mine would have been cut entirely to the bone: indeed, we were treated just as they would treat criminals, whom they were about to lead to the place of execution. We were now put in front of several armed men, whose duty it was to goad us along with the points of their spears. After making an exhibition of us through almost every street in the town, we were at length brought to the Yongdau, or place where all causes are tried, and sentences are passed. Here sat the dispenser of life and death, surrounded by other officers of the town. He ordered us to be placed before him in a kneeling posture, with our faces to the ground; to which we submitted in the most respectful manner. On one side of us was a noisy rabble, crying out all together: 'Let them be put to death!' The cries of the multitude prevailed. The executioner, who stood on one side with the knife in his hand, waiting the decision, was ordered to proceed."

At this moment, Mr. Hough begged to be allowed to go on board the frigate which bore the English flag, that he might persuade the invaders not to resume the discharge of arms. Just at that moment, the roar of cannon was heard, and the officers, pale with affright, fled a short distance and hid themselves under the banks of a tank. The missionaries thus unceremoniously left on their knees, with their necks bared, ready for the executioner's stroke, were permitted to rise. In the midst of the firing, they were soon hurried to the outskirts of the city, where Mr. Hough's proposal was renewed and accepted.

As soon as he had started on his errand, Mr. Wade and the other prisoners were consigned to a wretched dungeon, and ordered to be put to death, in case Mr. Hough failed to succeed. The English landed the next morning; when a party of Burmans, who had early collected around the dungeon, seeing the "red coats" approaching, fled for life; and the prisoners, after two days' and three nights' suffering in chains, were set at liberty.

During this time, Mrs. Hough and Mrs. Wade, though not formally arrested, were greatly persecuted, and suffered extremely from anxiety; and the converts were obliged to scatter and conceal themselves, all fleeing to the jungle, except Moung Shwaba. He remained at the mission-house, with the female missionaries, till all three were obliged, in the disguise of Burmans, to seek a hiding-place from the blood-thirsty rabble. But for the protection of a bamboo shed, they would probably have been slain.

It was a providential deliverance, on all sides, and happy was the meeting of husbands and wives. "I need not attempt to describe the feelings produced by meeting again, after we had passed through so many and so great dangers; but, at length, we found ourselves again all together, well, and beyond the power of barbarous and unmerciful Burmans. For my own part, I was rendered almost delirious by so sudden a transition from the deepest distress to the highest pitch of joy. In reflecting upon those scenes of danger through which we all passed, and the narrow escapes which were afforded, when hope seemed entirely gone, I cannot help thinking, that our deliverance was almost miraculous. More than once, the danger which threatened us was so near, that I could only say: 'Lord, save *now*, or we perish.' God was my only hope; and this hope did not fail me, even in the greatest extremity. O how invaluable is the hope of the gospel! which, like an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast, enters into that which is within the vail! And, standing upon the very border of eternity, as we viewed ourselves, how insignificant appeared all the objects which so much attract us in this world; how vast the concerns of a never-ending duration; and how invaluable a well-grounded hope in the merits of HIM, whose name is the only one given under heaven, and among men, whereby we must be saved!"

Rangoon was now deserted by the natives; the means of subsistence were almost entirely cut off; the rainy season was setting in, and a raging and extremely fatal fever was spreading among the European troops. Under these circumstances, Messrs. Hough and Wade decided to remove to Calcutta, and there remain until the close of the war. While there, they made considerable progress in the Burman language, and published a dictionary in that dialect, compiled principally from the labors of Messrs. Judson, Colman, Carey, and the associates of the latter.

CHAPTER XII.

Movements at Ava, on the Fall of Rangoon — Arrest, Examination, and Discharge of Mr. Judson and Dr. Price — Their confinement and sufferings in the Death Prison — Persecution, Trials, and Heroic Conduct of Mrs. Judson.

The intelligence that Rangoon had fallen, was received at Ava on the 23d of May, eleven days after it had taken place: and, the next morning, writes Dr. Price, "twenty-five gold boats, each mounting a small piece of artillery, and well provided with muskets, started with orders to raise the whole country, if necessary, to drive out the insidious banditti, who had come thus unawares upon an unoffending town. The current of feeling was now so strong against the English residents, that Mr. Gouger* sent over to me to inquire, if it would not be more safe for him to remove to Sagaing, and put up with me out of the way of the popular fury. I informed him I should be very happy to entertain him at any other time; but, at present, I thought our herding together would only excite suspicion, and hasten the ruin of us both."

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*A young English gentleman, then engaged in mercantile business, at Ava.

A few days later, Messrs. Judson and Price were summoned to the secret council chamber, where they were questioned separately in regard to their country, avocation, acquaintance with certain Englishmen, &c. When the examination had closed, they were allowed to return to their houses; but with the understanding that they should stand ready for a fresh summons, should such a step be deemed expedient. Three or four Englishmen, an Armenian, and a Greek, who had been previously examined, being supposed to be in the league with the army at Rangoon, were remanded to confinement, and were kept in separate guard-rooms adjoining the chamber where they were examined.

It appears that the Burmans were so ignorant of the relations in which the Americans and English stood to each other, as to suppose the former were subjects of the latter. Indeed, they thought all white men, but the French, stood in the same position to the British crown; and that France, even, after the overthrow of Napoleon, lost her national sovereignty. As Americans and Englishmen speak the same language, and are most naturally confounded, it is not surprising that the ignorant and prejudiced Burmans were somewhat severe in their treatment of the missionaries.

"On the 8th of June," writes Dr. Price, "an order was given 'to keep safe all the foreigners.' On this very morning I had unwittingly resolved to visit, once more, our friend, Prince M. On my way I heard a friendly voice calling out to me; when turning aside, I found it to be no other than my first and oldest friend, Moung Yay, the keeper of the king's wardrobe. He just gave me a hint of my danger, and then hurried away. Darkly lowering seemed my prospect, yet I pushed on to the house of Prince M.; but all his kind soothing could not dissipate the cloud which hung like night upon me. While I was sitting here, the five white men were taken from the king's guard-room, stripped of all their articles of clothing, except the shirt and pantaloons, dragged out to the loots, or house of lords, thence hurried forward to the court house in the greatest imaginable suspense, and delivered over to the keeper of the king's prison, called, by way of distinction, 'Stick at nothing,' or 'Dread nought.' Here they were each honored with three pairs of chains, and strung on a pole together. Mr. J. was just about preparing for dinner when a number of people entered his ground. On asking two or three women, (who were hastily mounting his veranda,) what they wanted, they replied that they had come to look on; in a moment the veranda was thronged, and a rough voice called out for the teacher. Mr. J. came forward, and, without any warning, was immediately siezed, thrown on the ground, and his arms tied with all the force the barbarian was capable of Mrs. J. came forward, in agony better to be conceived than described, and offered to give money to have the rope eased off her husband. But the wretch, instead of listening to the grief-impassioned request, cried out, 'She is also a white foreigner: tie her too.' For a moment, Mr. J.'s own exquisite torment was forgotten in the heart-rending apprehension, that Mrs. J. was about to undergo the same cruel indignity. The assurance, however, that this was not the case, softened the pain occasioned by the violence offered in dragging him roughly away toward the town, so tightly bound that he could not half draw his breath. At a quarter of a mile's distance, he was again thrown down in the street, the cords drawn more tightly, with repeated strokes of the-knee on his back, so as almost to induce fainting, and money demanded in order to their being loosened.

"A christian native who had followed at a distance, now came forward and offered to go back for the money; but, before his return, the anguish endured was so great, that Mr. J. was obliged to appeal to the numerous bystanders. 'Is there no one who knows me; is there no one who will be my security for the money, no one who pities me? I am a priest, and, though a foreign one, deserve not such indignity, such torture.' But none stepped forward, and the cruel monster persisted in tightening the cords until the arrival of Moung Ing with ten ticals of pure silver, when his arms were somewhat relieved, so as to allow a more free respiration, and he was again hurried forward a distance of nearly two miles to the prison-house, and there, after being fettered, strung on the same bamboo with the preceding five unhappy men.

"In the meantime, I had left the house of Prince M., at three o'clock in the afternoon, having just missed the horrid sight of Mr. J.'s agony, and had reached the river side with a heavy heart, which was not at all lightened by a black look I there received from the chief man of the golden navy, who had, on all previous occasions, met me with a smile. I passed over to Sagaing, fully impressed with the idea that something dreadful was approaching, though I knew not what. Having arrived at home, the sight of my dear wife and child was painful in the extreme. I dared communicate nothing of my apprehensions; but, after a slight attempt to dine, hurried to the top of my house and endeavored alone to compose myself; but all in vain. At dusk I was joined by Mrs. P. and child; we had taken only a few turns, when a dreadful noise was heard below. Knowing too well the cause of the uproar, I hastened down, and was informed that more than fifty men were preparing to surround and take possession of my house. My scattered senses seemed to collect of themselves; I saw the long dreaded hour had arrived, and I was myself again — yea, more; I was, or seemed to myself to be, supernaturally assisted; I looked down on the treacherous breach of all formerly plighted royal faith; I felt a martyr, and determined to shrink from nothing which was before me. In answer to loud demands from without, I opened the door, was ordered immediately to sit down on the floor, to give an inventory of my effects, to shut and bar the doors and windows, and follow them. Having committed all to the care of my wife, who, by this time, had found her way to me, I commended her to our common Protector, and took my leave of my newly built mansion, never expecting to enter it more. My conductors attempted, at first, to extort money, by threatening to tie my arms; but finding me ready to submit to any thing, they betrayed their want of any warrant to use me roughly; and changing their line of conduct, immediately began to treat me uncommonly well, and actually carried an umbrella over me to guard me from the rain, all the way to the government house. Arrived here, the great man said I was called for to be asked some questions, he supposed; the real cause he knew not; but we must repair to the court house.

"Hand in hand we proceeded to the young dau, or court house, where I was delivered over to the Ava town clerk, and heard the laconic order, 'P. and J. catch, and put in prison.' My heart sunk at the appalling words; still they seemed repeated; again and again I repeated them to myself, till the town clerk roused me from my reverie, by diving into my pockets, and securing every thing movable about me. The head executioner now received a wink, which authorized him to seize me rather rudely by the shoulder, and caused me to descend without the trouble of seeking the stairs. I was now led at a quick pace across the street, ushered into a small compound or yard, and ordered to sit. I made toward a bench; but was pushed off it. I then seated myself on a small stone slab, which I soon found was meant for another purpose. For, while undergoing an examination as to my name, place of abode, occupation, &c., a man with his hands full of irons, came forward, and rudely shoving me off the stone, seized one of my legs, and began knocking on one pair of fetters after another, until I thought he was never going to stop.

"My heart now died within me. I looked around; all was gloomy, and dark, and silent, except the dull clanking of chains. Four or five young women in a like predicament manifested some pity; but all else was savage, unfeeling complacency. My three chains were no sooner well fastened on, than I was ordered roughly to go in. A little bamboo door opened, and I rose to go toward it. But O, who can describe my sensations! shackled like a common felon, in the care of hangmen, the offscouring of the country, turned like a dog into his kennel, my wife, my dear family, left to suffer alone all the rudeness such wretches are capable of. The worst, however, was yet to come; for, making the best of my way up the high step, I was ushered into the grand apartment; horror of horrors, what a sight! never to my dying day shall I forget the scene; — a dim lamp in the midst, just making darkness visible, and discovering to my horrified gaze, sixty or seventy wretched objects, some in long rows made fast in the stocks, some strung on poles, some simply fettered; but all sensible of a new accession of misery, in the approach of a new prisoner. Stupefied, I stopped to gaze till goaded on; I proceeded toward the further end, when I again halted. A new and unexpected sight met my eyes. Till now I had been kept in ignorance of the fate of my companions; a long row of white objects, stretched on the floor, in a most crowded situation, revealed to me, however, but too well, their sad case, and I was again urged forward. Poor old R. wishing to retain the end of the bamboo, made way for me to be placed along side of Mr. J. 'We all hoped you would have escaped, you were so long coming,' was the first friendly salutation I had yet received; but alas! it was made by friends whose sympathy was now unavailing.

"Here, side by side, we were allowed the only gratification left, of condoling, in the Burman language, with each other. 'Now you have arrived and our number is complete, I suppose they will proceed to murder us,' was the first thing suggested; and no one could say it was improbable. To prepare for a violent death, for immediate execution, was our consequent resolution. And now we began to feel our Strength, our Stronghold, our Deliverer, in this dark abode of misery and despair. He who has said, I will never leave you nor forsake you, manifested his gracious presence; a calm sweet peace succeeded our hurried minds, and alternate prayer and repeating of hymns, soon brought our minds to a state of comparative gladness and joy. We became lifted above our persecutors; and the hymn containing the words—

> 'Let men of spite against me join,
> They are the sword, the hand is thine;'

was peculiarly applicable and refreshing. Now, ye scoffers, say what you will, here is a triumph you can not attain. Religion! O, the sweets of religious communion with God! 'Let them now, even now come,' we said; 'we are prepared for the worst you can do; you can not deprive us of our hope in God, our sweet peace of mind.' Thus we whiled away the hours of the night. Nature shuddered, but the soul was unshaken: our confidence was in the Rock of Ages. We were not left, however, without many a pang; for ever and anon the situation of our dear families presented itself to us, and the thought of what they might even now be suffering on our account, and in their own persons, was like racks and tortures to our hearts. Still we reflected, they too are in the hands of a merciful God; they too may be now enjoying a portion of that support which we ourselves feel, and we concluded to commit them to his Almighty keeping, and our minds were much relieved. The night was rainy, and we were much incommoded by the circumstance; the stench of the place was almost intolerable; we had no bed but the greasy, filthy floor of our prison; and, unable to move our bodies for the bamboo, which passed between our legs, our situation became exceedingly distressing, when at length the morning dawned upon our sleepless eyes. For a long time we were doubtful of the daylight. The rain continued to descend in torrents, and no window or door was there to the room. At length the bamboo wicket was opened, and a figure approached us, of a most terrific appearance and a horrid countenance. He jocularly saluted us, hoped we had slept well, and in reply to our repeated requests, said he would order us to be let out for five minutes. He was as good as his word. And now commences the history of our luxuries. First and foremost, to find ourselves again on our feet, to be able to move our limbs, shackled as they were. Ye who ride for pleasure, believe me when I assert, you never enjoyed an hour worthy to be compared with these few minutes; and then to get out into the fresh air! the rain, the mud, we heeded not, our enjoyment was pure; but alas! like all things here below, soon to cease. Again we were turned in, and notwithstanding our remonstrances, again obliged to take our station as before. The arrival of our breakfast afforded another short interval of relief; but we were not allowed to communicate with our people who brought it, and hence still kept ignorant of the situation of our dear families. Our appetites being not very keen, were soon satisfied and, our dishes sent away, we relapsed into our former reflection, What is to be done with us? The night was inconvenient to have us executed; no doubt the day will be fixed on for the purpose. Every thing around us was alarming—we were in the worst prison, in the worst part of it, and most rigorously treated. Our crime, too, admitted of no advocate, the populace even seemed to join in cursing us. Among our fellow-prisoners, few sympathized with us; and it was the invariable custom of the country, that such as we should not be permitted to live. Many groans were uttered, and many tears shed, before this weary day passed off. Poor old —— thought it a very hard case he should have served the king of Burmah forty years, and be rewarded thus at last.

"Mr. J., Mr. G., and myself spent the day in as composed a frame as could be expected, considering our noisy company, want of rest, and uneasy situation. The night passed off tolerably well; 'tired nature's sweet restorer' cast in over us the mantle of a temporary oblivion.

"The next morning, Mr. J. was called out early, by some man of consequence, who wanted to know if he meant to stay inside forever; asked why he had not applied with a proper present, to procure the liberty of the yard—which would have saved him the trouble of calling at this time to offer him the choice of paying three hundred ticals, (four hundred S. R.) or of being still more rigorously treated. Mr. J. told him it was an exorbitant demand; that he was a priest, and ought not to be compelled to pay money at all. On which the man, who proved to be the town clerk, assumed an air of high authority; said he would go down to his house and see for himself whether he had the ability of paying or not; ordered him immediately to give in a true account of all his effects, and by no means to leave out an article; at the same time using very abusive and threatening language. This unauthorized conduct excited the indignation of a woman present, (Ma Cathai,) who sharply interposed, and the examination was stopped. I was then called out, and the same demand was repeated, to which I made the same reply. Highly exasperated, he called for the old jailor, and ordered me back to be more tightly kept (kyat kyat 'tah.) Mr. J. was also ordered in, and a hint given, that if one hundred pieces were given, we should be let out of the close room. Mr. G. and Mr. R. were let out this morning, on the payment of about four hundred.

"Just after breakfast, a meeting took place between Mr. and Mrs. J., of such a nature as to affect even to sobbing our hardened keeper, who was also a fellow prisoner. We were now informed, for the first time, that immediately after Mr. J.'s departure, the house was surrounded with guards, everything in the yard broken or destroyed, or carried away, and at length she was obliged to suspect them of intending the same thing in the house. She accordingly retired within, and having fastened all the doors, remained quietly to wait the event. Soon the demons appeared at the door, and ordered it to be opened, threatening to break it down. But not obtaining their purpose, they seized on the cook and consumer, tied them by the feet, and hoisted them toward the ceiling. The cries of these poor wretches effected what the threats of the others could not;

and to relieve her people, Mrs. J. opened a wicket and threw out to them six or seven handkerchiefs, on which they desisted from further violence, keeping up, nevertheless, a most deafening noise the whole night. In the morning, the head of the district came to see her, to whom she complained of the conduct of his people. On which he reprimanded them severely, ordered them to give back the handkerchiefs, and in a day or two removed them entirely from the house: when Mrs. J. was left quite at liberty to go where she chose; of which liberty we often, very often reaped the benefit; for, although her house was full two miles off, she almost daily walked this distance, to alleviate our miseries, and complain to the proper authority when the understrappers used us ill."

During the first six or seven months of their imprisonment, the missionaries, together with the other white prisoners, were subject to frequent and most outrageous extortions, as well as most cruel oppression. "Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs; at other times, an order would be issued, that the white foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then, again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food without an extra fee."

The sufferings of the prisoners, and her own trials and sorrows, are touchingly described by Mrs. Judson, in a letter addressed to her brother-in-law:

"The war," she says, "was now prosecuted with all the energy the Burmese government possessed. New troops were continually raised and sent down the river, and as frequently reports returned of their being all cut off. But that part of the Burmese army stationed in Arracan, under the command of Bandula, had been more successful. Three hundred prisoners, at one time, were sent to the capital, as an evidence of the victory that had been gained. The king began to think that none but Bandula understood the art of fighting with foreigners; consequently his majesty recalled him, with the design of his taking command of the army that had been sent to Rangoon. On his arrival at Ava, he was received at court in the most flattering manner, and was the recipient of every favor in the power of the king and queen to bestow. He was, in fact, while at Ava, the acting king. I was resolved to apply to him for the release of missionaries, though some members of government advised me not, lest he, being reminded of their existence, should issue an immediate order for their execution. But it was my last hope, and, as it proved, my last application.

"Your brother wrote a petition privately, stating every circumstance that would have a tendency to interest him in our behalf. With fear and trembling, I approached him, while surrounded by a crowd of flatterers; and one of his secretaries took the petition, and read it aloud. After hearing it, he spake to me in an obliging manner — asked several questions relative to the teachers — said he would think of the subject — and bade me come again. I ran to the prison to communicate the favorable reception to Mr. Judson; and we both had sanguine hopes that his release was at hand. But the governor of the city expressed his amazement at my temerity, and said he doubted not it would be the means of destroying all the prisoners. In a day or two, however, I went again, and took a present of considerable value. Bandula was not at home; but his lady, after ordering the present to be taken into another room, modestly informed me that she was ordered by her husband to make the following communication — that he was now very busily employed in making preparations for Rangoon; but that when he had retaken that place, and expelled the English, he would return and release all the prisoners.

"Thus again were all our hopes dashed; and we felt that we could do nothing more, but sit down and submit to our lot. From this time we gave up all idea of being released from prison, till the termination of the war; but I was still obliged to visit constantly some of the members of government, with little presents, particularly the governor of the city, for the purpose of making the situation of the prisoners tolerable. I generally spent the greater part of every other day at the governor's house, giving him all the information relative to American manners, customs, government, &c. He used to be so much gratified with my communications, as to feel greatly disappointed, if any occurrence prevented my spending the usual hours at his house.

"Some months after your brother's imprisonment, I was permitted to make a little bamboo room in the prison enclosures, where he could be much by himself, and where I was sometimes allowed to spend two or three hours. It so happened that the two months he occupied this place, was the coldest part of the year, when he would have suffered much in the open shed he had previously occupied. After the birth of your little niece, I was unable to visit the prison and the governor as before, and found I had lost considerable influence, previously gained; for he was not so forward to hear my petitions when any difficulty occurred, as he formerly had been. When Maria was nearly two months old, her father one morning sent me word that he and all the white prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pairs of fetters each, that his little room had been torn down, and his mat, pillow, &c., been taken by the jailers. This was to me a dreadful shock, as I thought at once it was only a prelude to greater evils.

"I should have mentioned before this, the defeat of Bandula, his escape to Danooyboo, the complete destruction of his army, and the loss of ammunition, and the consternation this intelligence produced at court. The English army had left Rangoon, and were advancing toward Prome, when these severe measures were taken with the prisoners.

"I went immediately to the governor's house. He was not at home; but had ordered his wife to tell me, when I came, not to ask to have the additional fetters taken off, or the prisoners released; for it could not be done. I went to the prison-gate; but was forbid to enter. All was as still as death—not a white face to be seen, or a vestige of Mr. J.'s little room remaining. I was determined to see the governor, and know the cause of this additional oppression; and for this purpose, returned to town the same evening, at an hour I knew he would be at home. He was in his audience room, and, as I entered, looked up without speaking, but exhibited a mixture of shame and affected anger in his countenance. I began by saying, your lordship has hitherto treated us with the kindness of a father. Our obligations to you are very great. We have looked to you for protection from oppression and cruelty. You have, in many instances, mitigated the sufferings of those unfortunate, though innocent beings, committed to your charge. You have promised me, particularly, that you would stand by me to the last, and though you should receive an order from the king, you would not put Mr. J. to death. What crime has he committed to deserve such additional punishment? The old man's hard heart was melted; for he wept like a child. 'I pity you, Tsa-yar-ga-dau, (a name by which he always called me,) I knew you would make me feel; I therefore forbade your application. But you must believe me when I say, I do not wish to increase the sufferings of the prisoners. When I am ordered to execute them, the least that I can do, is to put them out of sight. I will now tell you,' continued he, 'what I have never told you before, that three times I have received intimations from the queen's brother, to assassinate all the white prisoners privately; but I would not do it. And I now repeat it, though I execute all the others, I will never execute your husband. But I cannot release him from his present confinement, and you must not ask it.' I had never seen him manifest so much feeling, or so resolute in denying me a favor, which circumstance was an additional reason for thinking dreadful scenes were before us.

"The situation of the prisoners was now distressing beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season. There were above a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretched exhibition. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering him money, which he refused; but all that I gained, was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time.

"It was at this period, that the death of Bandula was announced in the palace. The king heard it with silent amazement, and the queen, in eastern style, smote upon her breast, and cried, ama! ama! (alas, alas.)

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, your brother was taken with a fever;

I felt assured he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house, and put up a small bamboo room in the governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison-gate. Here I incessantly begged the governor to give me an order to take Mr. J. out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my entreaties, at length gave me the order in an official form; and also gave orders to the head jailer, to allow me to go in and out, all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed, and had Mr. J. instantly removed into a little bamboo hovel, so low, that neither of us could stand upright — but a palace, in comparison with the place he had left.

"Notwithstanding the order the governor had given for my admittance into prison, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the under-jailer to open the gate. I used to carry Mr. J.'s food myself, for the sake of getting in, and would then remain an hour or two, unless driven out. We had been in this comfortable situation but two or three days, when one morning, having carried in Mr. Judson's breakfast, which, in consequence of fever, he was unable to take, I remained longer than usual, when the governor, in great haste, sent for me. I promised him to return as soon as I had ascertained the governor's will, he being much alarmed at this unusual message. I was very agreeably disappointed, when the governor informed me, that he only wished to consult me about his watch, and seemed unusually pleasant and conversable. I found afterward, that his only object was, to detain me until the dreadful scene, about to take place in the prison, was over. For when I left him to go to my room, one of the servants came running, and with a ghastly countenance informed me, that all the white prisoners were carried away." *

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* Letter to Elnathan Judson, M. D. See Memoir of Ann H. Judson, chapters sixteen and seventeen. We are mainly guided by the same communication, in our account of the missionaries' imprisonment at Oung pen-la.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Judson and the other Prisoners taken to Oung-pen-la — Cause of their Removal — Mrs. Judson follows her Husband — Sufferings of the Judson Family — Progress of the English Army up the Irrawaddy — Messrs. Judson and Price taken from Prison to assist in Negotiations for Peace — Sickness of Mrs. Judson — War Closes — Dr. Price remains at Ava — His Death — Mr. and Mrs. Judson go to Rangoon.

In 1825, after eleven months incarceration and suffering at Ava, Mr. Judson was seized by a jailor, roughly dragged from the prison, stripped almost naked, unchained, and, without hat or shoes, with a rope round his waist, was driven to the court house, where he met the other prisoners. Tied in pairs, and committed to the custody of an officer entitled the lamine woon, who rode on horseback in front, while a gang of slaves held the ropes attached to the bodies of the prisoners, and brought up the rear, the company started for Oung-pen-la, via Amarapura. It was nearly noon, in the month of May, a sultry and oppressive season of the year in the climate of southern India, and Mr. Judson had not proceeded a mile before his feet were blistered, and he was in excruciating pain. The skin was soon worn from the feet of all the prisoners, and the hot sand was now eating into the naked flesh. But they were in charge of an inhuman officer, whose orders to the drivers were, to hurry the culprits along.

Mr. Judson had a fever that morning, and partook of no refreshment; hence, when he had gone about four miles, or a little more than half-way to Amarapura, he became so faint that he would have fallen had he not received support by taking hold of the shoulder of Captain Laird, who was his yoke-fellow in ignominy and suffering. Though a much more robust man than Mr. Judson, he was able to render assistance in this way only a short time. Fortunately, however, a servant of Mr. Gouger, an athletic Bengalee, now overtook the company, and, observing Mr. Judson's weakness and distress, tore his head dress in two, and gave him half of it to envelope his feet; Mr. Gouger received the other half. The servant then gave Mr. Judson his shoulder, and bore nearly half his weight the last mile or two of the first day's journey.

Before reaching Amarapura, one of the prisoners, a corpulent Greek, who was perfectly healthy when they started, fell down dead. This circumstance led the lamine woon, who had intended to drive the prisoners to Oung-pen-la that night, to halt on the way. They were taken under an old shed, at Amarapura, where, without a pillow or a shred of covering, they rested their weary and bleeding limbs on the naked earth. But for the kindness of the lamine woon's wife, who was not wholly destitute of the traits of the true woman, and whose curiosity had led her to visit the prisoners, they would probably have had nothing to eat that night. She kindly ordered some tamarinds and other refreshments, and they lay down to rest, no doubt, with the one consoling reflection, that God had not wholly forsaken them, but had sent a friend to their succor, in a time of great need. Some rice, poorly prepared, was given them the next morning, and as every one of them was unable to walk, they were conveyed the rest of the way, four miles, in carts.

The circumstance which led to their removal to Oung-pen-la, as they subsequently learned, was this: the pakah-woon was about to take command of a new army of fifty thousand men, raised to carry on the war with the English, and the prisoners were to be offered as a sacrifice in his presence, to honor the occasion. Just before the time for executing this diabolical plan, he fell into disgrace at the court of Ava, was accused of high treason, and executed immediately, without trial or the slightest examination. He had been suddenly raised from obscurity to the rank of woongyee, and being proud, ambitious, and sanguinary, it is likely the accusation brought against him was well founded, and that his doom was just. His execution was timely for the missionaries and their fellow prisoners, and it was no doubt regarded by the former as a providential escape from death, and an especial occasion for gratitude and thanksgiving to God.

The morning after the prisoners left Ava, Mrs. Judson obtained a government pass, and with her daughter three months old, the two adopted Burman girls before mentioned, and a Bengalee servant, she passed up the Irrawaddy in quest of her husband. She had accidentally heard, the night previous, that the prisoners had been taken before the lamine woon at Amarapura, and were to be driven to some place farther off. Anxious to reach the government house before the prisoners should leave Amarapura, when within two miles of that place, she left the boat and hurried on in a cart. Arriving at the court house, she learned that the prisoners had departed two hours previous, and, with a disappointed heart, she was obliged to charter another cart, and pursue her solitary way four miles farther over burning sand and beneath a scorching sun.

Arriving at Oung-pen-la, she soon found her way to the prison yard, where she met Mr. Judson, who was "almost dead with suffering and fatigue," but so conscious of the wretchedness of the place, as to salute her with the assurance that she could not live there.

The prison at Oung-pen-la was in a dilapidated and miserable condition; but some slight repairs were immediately made, a large shed was put up in front, and a new fence built; still the place was sadly deficient in the features of comfort, and soon became the scene of sufferings and trials, at the contemplation of which humanity weeps.

The fever, which Mr. Judson had when he left Ava, did not leave him for some time; and so mangled were his feet that he could not stand, and could scarcely move for several days. Under these circumstances he needed the utmost care and almost incessant attention, which was more than Mrs. Judson was able to bestow. The day after her arrival, one of the Burman children, Mary Hasseltine, took the small pox, and she being the only person just then on whom Mrs. Judson could rely in taking care of the infant Maria, the poor woman had an amount of labor to perform that would seem sufficient to break down the strongest constitution. "I knew not what to do," she afterward wrote, "for I could procure no assistance from the neighborhood, or medicine for the sufferers, but was all day long going backward and forward from the house to the prison with little Maria in my arms. Sometimes I was greatly relieved by leaving her, for an hour, when asleep, by the side of her father, while I returned to the house to look after Mary, whose fever ran so high as to produce delirium. She was so completely covered with the small pox, that there was no distinction in the pustules. As she was in the same little room with myself, I knew Maria would take it; I therefore inoculated her from another child, before Mary's had arrived at such a state as to be infectious. At the same time I inoculated Abby, and the jailer's children, who all had it so lightly as hardly to interrupt their play. But the inoculation in the arm of my poor little Maria did not take—she caught it of Mary, and had it the natural way. She was then only three months and a half old, and had been a most healthy child; but it was above three months before she perfectly recovered from the effects of this dreadful disorder."

Though vaccinated before leaving America, yet, from long and constant exposure, and without the preliminary symptom of fever, Mrs. Judson had something like a hundred pustules. But she sank not beneath these accumulated burdens; as soon as the children had recovered, greatly debilitated, and with one of the alarming diseases of the country, to which foreigners are peculiarly subject, dragging her down, she repaired to Ava, alone, to obtain the medicine chest—an article indispensable to missionaries in a strange and particularly a tropical climate. She started on her return to Oung-pen-la in so weak a condition as to be unable to stand; and, when she reached her miserable home, was unable to get into the chairless hovel without the help of the attentive Bengalee cook, who burst into tears when he beheld her cadaverous face and emaciated form. Crawling upon the only mat in her little room, which had been a hospital since her first arrival in the place, she there lay between two and three months, unable, most of the time, to do aught for herself, much less for her husband. The latter, though now restored to comfortable health, depended on the kindness of friends to properly prepare his food, and for other attentions to lubricate the harsher asperities of prison life. A single day's neglect subjected him to suffering not easily to be borne.

But "man's extremity is God's opportunity;" and He who directed the birds of heaven to the prophet's retreat, did not leave the Burman apostle to perish, though he was in a land of human vultures. It is said that a common Bengalee cook will do nothing but the simple drudgery of his profession, but the one whom Providence flung into the bosom of the Judson family, forgetting self, surrendering comforts, and laying aside caste, gave his heart and unrestricted services to the afflicted and helpless missionaries, without the prospect that he would ever receive due recompense for his indispensable labors. Beneath an unpromising exterior beat a true heart; and the case of this Bengalee servant seems to beautifully verify the words of Gay:

> Friendship is like the sun's eternal rays;
> Not daily benefits exhaust the flame,
> It still is giving, and still burns the same.

Through the smiles of a gracious Providence, when, at length, the fortune of the missionaries was reversed, they were enabled to suitably reward this kind-hearted servant for his invaluable services.

While Mrs. Judson was lying on a bamboo floor, during the nine or ten longest weeks of her life, her forlorn infant, it is probable, endured more suffering than any of the family. Unable herself to supply it with its proper nourishment, Mrs. Judson made the utmost efforts to obtain a nurse, but failed: and, what was still more perplexing, she could not, for some time, procure any milk in the village. But what will not a mother do, in great emergencies? what can exhaust her schemes, when the life of a child is at stake? Mrs. Judson did not give up. Though her "flesh" had failed, her "heart" had lost none of its strength. She could say, with the Psalmist, "God is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever." Looking to Him for support and counsel, as she lay, night after night, listening to the dismal, dirge-like cries of her famishing babe, without the ability to afford it relief, she at length resorted to the potency of presents, which, coupled with the power of eloquent looks, and the persuasive pleadings of faint words, so wrought upon the obdurate hearts of the jailers, that, at her request, Mr. Judson was permitted to leave the prison for a short time, from day to day, and carry the little starveling around the village to such mothers as had infant children, and were merciful enough to give it nourishment.

Fiction must exhaust its resources in drawing a picture of trials and sufferings more painful than the life of the Judson family at Oung-pen-la. However deficient in fullness the limnings in the preceding pages of this chapter may be, the picture is, we believe, correct in outline; and let the thoughtless worldling, who calls the missionary's a life of ease, and whose blurred imagination gives it the coloring of delightful romance, not turn too hastily from its contemplation. Scrutinize it in every part, and then point out the sunbeams that twinkle on the canvas: or, if you fail to do this, turn away in mute admiration of the christian fortitude, meek submission, and heroic endurance of these tried disciples of Christ, and speak no more in depreciating terms of the motives and toils of the heaven-appointed heralds of Christianity.

While Mr. Judson was lying more than half a year in the wretched cells of Oung-pen-la, the English army was gradually, but very slowly, ascending the Irrawaddy,* defeating the proud and boastful, yet cowardly legions of the king, at several towns along the route, and as often offering overtures of peace, which were as often disdainfully rejected. But at length, in the early part of 1826, the near approach of the foreign forces to the golden city, caused the golden legs to tremble, and induced his imperial and heretofore imperious majesty to take into consideration the proposals for peace, which were becoming more and more grasping in their demands. In order to carry on the negotiations, he sent for Mr. Judson, to act as interpreter. The latter had no objections to leaving Oung-pen-la, though he shared but little better at Maloun, where the Burman camp was, and whither he was immediately sent, to translate for the king. He there passed seven or eight weeks, a prisoner at large, and was then sent to Ava.

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* After the capture of Rangoon, the English army was delayed nearly a year at that place, owing to the sickness of the soldiers, the scarcity of provisions, and other causes. In June, 1825, the army retired into barracks at Prome, and there remained during the hot and rainy season, which usually lasts from May to November. Hence the long period that elapsed between the fall of Rangoon and the storming of Maloun, which latter event occurred on the 19th of January, 1826, and was the circumstance which led the king to weigh the question of a treaty.

While he was at the former place, his wife, who had followed him from Oung-pen-la to Ava, was prostrated by the spotted fever, deprived of her reason, and brought to the verge of the grave. Dr. Price, who also rendered assistance in the negotiations, attended her, and had, for days, no hopes of her recovery. On one occasion, she was so low that the natives came in to see her die; and on beholding her, they exclaimed, "She is dead! and if the King of angels should come in, he could not recover her." But the poor idolaters knew nothing of the power of the "King of angels," for he *did* restore her. Meantime, He also provided for the helpless and hapless little Maria, a Burman nurse offering to become its temporary foster-mother, the very day that Mrs. Judson was taken with the fever.

The treaty of peace was concluded at Yandabo, forty miles below Ava, on the 24th of February, 1826. By its terms, the emperor agreed to pay the English 5,000,000 rupees, or nearly $2,500,000, and ceded Arracan, Tavoy, Maulmain, and Mergui, and also a part of Martaban.

In compliance with the treaty, all the prisoners at Oung-pen-la were set free, some to be sent to their homes, others to the English camp. Messrs. Judson and Price were strongly urged to remain at the capital, and the latter, after some consideration, complied with the wishes of the king. He there continued the practice of medicine; established and faithfully attended to the duties of a school for the children of noblemen; lectured occasionally on astronomy, and such other sciences as show the fallacy of the system of Buddhism, and preached to his retainers, and such as felt disposed to visit his house on Sunday. Early in the winter of 1828, he obtained permission to take several of his pupils to Serampore, to finish their studies; but he was then sinking under pulmonary consumption. On the morning he was to sail, February 14th, he arose, dressed himself, and soon afterward sat down in his chair, and died. His attendants, who had been absent from his room a few moments, returning, found him lifeless, in a sitting posture. The school was broken up, and the station unoccupied for years.

Mr. Judson repaired, with his family, by invitation, to the headquarters of Sir Archibald Campbell, who was then at Yandabo. They were received by the general with extreme cordiality, and shared his hospitalities about two weeks. He then gave them a passage to Rangoon, for which place they embarked on the 8th of March, and where they arrived the latter part of the same month.

Mr. Judson had been absent two years and a quarter, and, considering the turbulent state of affairs in the country during this time, it is not surprising that he found great changes had taken place. The following extracts from a letter written on the 25th of March, just after reaching Rangoon, contain, among other things, some interesting facts in regard to the Burman converts, and conclude with the expression of sentiments which highly exalt his character. It was addressed to Dr. Bolles:*

"Through the kind interposition of our heavenly Father, our lives have been preserved, in the most imminent danger, from the hand of the executioner, and in repeated instances of most alarming illness, during my protracted imprisonment of one year and seven months — nine months in three pair of fetters, two months in five, six months in one, and two months a prisoner at large. Subsequent to the latter period, I spent about six weeks in the house of the north governor of the palace, who petitioned for my release, and took me under his charge; and finally, on the joyful 21st of February last, took leave, with Mrs. Judson and family, of the scene of our sufferings — sufferings which, it would seem, have been unavailing to answer any valuable missionary purpose, unless so far as they may have been silently blessed to our spiritual improvement and capacity for future usefulness. Let me beg your prayers that it may not be in vain, that we have been afflicted.

"The disciples and inquirers have been dispersed in all directions. Several are dead; several I found on my passage down the river, and gave them notice of my plans, in case they might wish to follow; and several are in this place waiting for some movement. Moung Shwa-ba has been in the mission-house during the whole, and Moung Ing with Mrs. Judson at Ava. Moung Shwa-Gnong I have been unable to find, but understood he was alive somewhere in the interior. We had a pleasant meeting with Mah Men-la and her sister, Mah Doke, who were living in boats at Prome, and instantly resolved to accompany us. I long for the time when we shall be able to reërect the standard of the gospel, and enjoy once more the stated worship and ordinances of the Lord's house. I feel a strong desire henceforth to know nothing among this people, but Jesus Christ and him crucified; and under an abiding sense of the comparative worthlessness of all worldly things, to avoid every secular occupation, and all literary and scientific pursuits, and devote the remainder of my days to the simple declaration of the all-precious truth of the gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

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* At the triennial meeting of the Convention, in 1826, Dr. Bolles was appointed Corresponding Secretary, in place of Dr. Staughton, who had served in that capacity since the formation of the Society, and who now resigned the office. Two years previous, for the sake of convenience, the seat of management of the mission had been removed from Washington to Boston; and prior to that date, it had been removed from Philadelphia to the capital, to accommodate Dr. Staughton, who was appointed President of Columbian College on its establishment.

CHAPTER XIV.

Retrospect of the Mission — Mr. and Mrs. Judson remove to Amherst — Mr. Judson goes to Ava, in connection with the English Embassy — Defeat of his Object in joining the Embassy — Returns to Amherst — Death of Mrs. Judson— Return of Mr. and Mrs. Wade, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Boardman— Death of Mr. Judson's Daughter.

With the close of the Burman war, the Burman mission ended the first portion of its history. The mission had to be reëstablished, and, excepting the acquisition of the language, as Mrs. Judson remarked at the time, the whole work had to be begun anew. During the twelve years embraced in this period, inexperience on the part of the missionaries, and profitless projects and undertakings as a consequence; meagerness of means, resulting from the ignorance of American christians in regard to their duty to the heathen; intolerance, war, and many other adverse influences, had retarded, and, at times, wholly delayed the work.

But, notwithstanding all this, the founding of the mission had been attended with much good. Not to mention other happy results, it had developed and strengthened the christian virtues of the great man whom God had honored in making him its founder, and had thoroughly schooled him for the herculean labors and the stupendous trials that were yet in reserve for him; and it had been the means, as the first fruits of patient toil and unfaltering faith, of gathering eighteen precious souls into the garner of the christian church.

Prior to 1826, twelve missionaries had entered on the work in Burmah. Three of these, Messrs. Wheelock and Colman, and Mrs. Price, had died, and two, the wido~~wed wives~~ws of the men just mentioned, had been removed by bereavement. Of the seven others, four were still in exile at Calcutta, leaving but three on the ground to commence the labors embraced in the second portion of the history of this mission. This period will extend over the next twenty-four years, and bring us down to the close of Mr. Judson's life.

On leaving Ava, it was Mr. Judson's intention to proceed to the peninsula south-east of Rangoon, and establish a mission, either at Tavoy or Mergui, these parts being now accessible to the peace-publisher. But soon after his arrival at Rangoon, he altered his plans, and accepted an invitation from Mr. Crawfurd, the commissioner of Lord Amherst, who was then governor-general of India, to accompany him on a tour through some of the newly ceded districts. It was to be made with reference to selecting a site for a new town, designed thenceforward to be the capital of the British territory in those parts.

Mr. Judson left Rangoon in company with Mr. Crawfurd, on the first of April, 1826. They proceeded up the Salwen or Martaban, and, at length, a short distance from its mouth, fixed upon a spot for the contemplated town, which they appropriately named Amherst. It is on the east side of the river, and on the dividing line of Burmah Proper and British Burmah.

The setting apart of this spot for the purpose before specified, was formal, and ceremonies of a very solemn and interesting character were performed on the occasion. After the firing of guns, and other appropriate acts, with the British flag waving over his head, Mr. Judson read the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah and offered a prayer, dedicating the place to the rule of civilized authority and christian toleration. It was then a wild spot in the jungle, and the language of inspiration and the voice of prayer must have broken strangely upon the solitude of the wilderness. Nature herself, it would seem, must have held her breath in awful suspense as she caught the mysterious words, "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders," * * * "A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation." And how eloquent must have been the supplication of the good man, whose soul was inspired by the promises of God; whose eye must have seen the whole Gentile world coming to Christ, and whose heart must have rejoiced, while the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah, the gold of Sheba, the flocks of

Kedar, the ships of Tarshish, in short, the wealth of the whole earth, was being poured into the treasury of the Lord, and the glory of the church was being consummated.

Rejoicing that a place had been found where he could be protected in preaching the gospel, Mr. Judson was impatient to locate his family at Amherst, and resume the work so congenial to his feelings. He accordingly returned to Rangoon on the 9th of April, and prepared for the removal, which was effected in June.

Several of the native converts, among whom were Moung Ing and Moung Shwa-ba, also sought an asylum at Amherst. Some of them, advised of Mr. Judson's plans, preceded him in the removal thither. Mentioning this fact to a friend in England, to whom he wrote on the 12th of July, he added, that they "built the first native houses that encroached on the jungle, and disturbed the deer and wild fowl which had been the undisputed occupants of the peninsula."

Just after the settlement of the missionaries at Amherst, Mrs. Judson received three hundred rupees from a friend in England, with which present she was enabled to erect a temporary mission-house, in which she opened a small school.

Mr. Judson had not fairly entered on his labors, before he received a pressing invitation to accompany Mr. Crawfurd on an embassy to the Burman court, having for its object the negotiating of a commercial treaty. He was to act in the capacity of translator;

but so comfortable was his situation at Amherst, and so favorable the prospect for his immediate usefulness there, that he had, at first, no desire to leave. He therefore declined; but Mr. Crawfurd renewed his proposal, and, as an inducement for Mr. Judson to accept it, agreed, if the thing were possible, to have an article embodied in the treaty, securing religious toleration. Mr. Judson could desire no consummation more earnestly than this; for the field now accessible to christian effort in those parts was small, and looking to the exigences of the future, he wished to have removed, at once and forever, all obstacles that would interfere with the prosecution of missionary labor in any part of the empire. From this consideration, after deliberation and prayer, he accepted the offer; and leaving his wife quietly and comfortably situated in the house of the civil superintendent of the town, Captain Fenwick — who was so kind and obliging as to vacate it for their accommodation — he returned to Rangoon in the early part of July, to await final orders from Bengal. The embassy did not leave until the first of September. On the 28th of that month, Mr. Judson once more gazed on the golden city, the scene of his incalculable sufferings, and the awakener of many painful recollections. But he doubtless regarded it as one of the fiery furnaces in which he had been tried; nor would he have shrank from reëntering its death-prison, if, by that means, and that only, he could effect the object of his present mission. But in this he was sadly, sorrowfully disappointed. In a letter addressed to the corresponding secretary, and dated, Ava, December 7th, 1826, he says:

"In the very commencement of negotiations, I ascertained that it would be impossible to effect any thing in favor of religious toleration, in consequence of the extraordinary ground assumed by the Burmese commissioners. Reluctant, as the government has ever been, to enter into any stipulations with a foreign power, they resolved to do nothing more than they were obliged to by the treaty of Yandabo. And as that required them to make a 'commercial treaty,' they resolved to confine the discussions to points strictly commercial; so that, instead of a treaty of twenty-two articles, calculated to place the relations of the two countries on the most liberal and friendly footing, the treaty just concluded is confined to four; and those utterly insignificant. So far, therefore, as I had a view to the attainment of religious toleration, in accompanying the embassy, I have entirely failed."

When he started for Ava, he expected to return in four or five months; but the delay of the embassy at Rangoon, also at the capital, in obtaining an audience with the king, and in bringing the negotiations to a close, prolonged his absence from his newly-adopted home two or three months longer than he had anticipated. When, at length, he returned to Amherst, which was on the 24th of January, 1827, it was to behold his home made desolate, and to seek the grave of his fallen companion!

Early in the month of October, Mrs. Judson was seized with a violent remittent fever; her constitution, rendered feeble by previous disease and long and extreme hardship, rapidly gave way, and after eighteen days illness she went to her heavenly rest. The tidings of her departure reached Mr. Judson just before he left Ava, and, notwithstanding his discipline in the school of affliction, he was almost overwhelmed with grief. Some months after his return, and subsequent to another bereavement, he says, in reference to Mrs. Judson, "The only pleasant reflection — the only one that assuages the anguish of retrospection — is, that she now rests far away, where no spotted-faced executioner can fill her heart with terror; where no unfeeling magistrate can extort the scanty pittance which she had preserved through every risk, to sustain her fettered husband and famishing babe; no more exposed to lie on a bed of languishment, and stung with the uncertainty, what would become of her poor husband and child when she was gone. No, she has her little ones around her, I trust, and has taught them to praise the source whence their deliverance flowed. Yes, her little son, his soul enlarged to angel's size, was perhaps the first to meet her at heaven's portals, and welcome his mother to his own abode."

And then, how like a christian philosopher he writes elsewhere:

"Much she saw and suffered of the evil of this evil world; and eminently was she qualified to relish and enjoy the pure and holy rest into which she has entered. True, she has been taken from a sphere in which she was singularly qualified, by her natural disposition, her winning manners, her devoted zeal, and her perfect acquaintance with the language, to be extensively serviceable to the cause of Christ; true, she has been torn from her husband's bleeding heart, and from her darling babe; but infinite wisdom and love have presided, as ever, in this most afflicting dispensation. Faith decides that it is all right, and the decision of faith eternity will soon confirm."

Mrs. Judson was buried but a few rods from the house in which she died, and two small marble stones, standing on a rise of ground that looks out upon the ocean, indicate the resting place of one to whose memory no monument of marble, however costly, nor aught that is subject to "decay's effacing fingers," can do justice. To perseverance that matches the untiring exertions of the worthiest matrons of our Revolution; to conjugal affection equal to that of Lady Fanshaw, or the Duchess of Bavaria; to self-devotion like that of the French domestic, La Blonde, whose humble but heroic exertions to serve the family of her deceased master most beautifully exemplified the truth of the maxim,

> "The height of virtue is to serve mankind;"

to the enthusiasm of Madam Roland, exhibited in a superior cause, and in a more appropriate manner, together with her fortitude displayed in a more

Christ-like spirit; to courage that obscures that of queen Carcas, because equally as fearless, and shown in a way more in keeping with the nature of woman's duties; to talents and wisdom superior to those of Artemisia, the queen of Caria, without her martial spirit, and with a more exalted ambition;—to all these were added, in her character, strength of benevolent feeling, firmness of faith, and love and fidelity to Christ, unsurpassed in the records of pious example and moral heroism. All the greatness of unselfishness, all the charms of unswerving rectitude, all the beauty, strength, and loyalty of social love, all the sublimity of sanctified and soaring thought, here seem compressed and crowded into one woman's spirit; and that spirit, temporarily linked to earth, yet uniformly heavenward in its aspirations and tendencies, surrounded her path with a halo of glory from the moment she stepped upon the deck of the Caravan, to encounter the perils of the deep and the greater ones of an unknown, heathen land, an intolerant people, and a pernicious climate, until, amid the cries of the native converts, the universal grief of the little group of English friends, and the wail of Christianity itself, her eyes were closed in peaceful sleep, and, with three oceans, which she had thrice traversed on her mission of mercy, separating her from her native land, she was laid to rest

"'Neath the cool branches of the Hopia tree."

A few days after the burial of Mrs. Judson, Mr. and Mrs. Wade returned from Calcutta, accompanied by George D. Boardman and wife, who had sailed from Philadelphia, under appointment of the Board of Managers, nearly two years before, but, owing to the turbulence in the Burman empire, had proceeded no farther than Calcutta. There they had been about a year and a half, studying with assiduity, and otherwise fitting themselves to aid the lone and sorrowing widower, whom they had now joined in the noble enterprise for evangelizing the heathen.

Other changes, beside the death of his wife and the arrival of the missionaries, had taken place, at Amherst, while Mr. Judson was at Ava. On his return, only four of the baptized converts were remaining; the rest had gone into different parts of the country. The four still tarrying there were Moung Ing, Moung Shwa-ba, Mah Men-la, and Mah Doke. These, he said, welcomed him with the voice of lamentation, for his presence "reminded them of the great loss they had sustained in the death of Mrs. Judson."

A still greater change had been wrought by Sir Archibald Campbell's removal of his troops to Maulmain, twenty-five miles up the Salwen from Amherst. Most of the Burman emigrants had accompanied or followed him, and settled in the vicinity of his new headquarters. These changes made Amherst exhibit signs of decay. Nevertheless, as the river was navigable for vessels of a large size, Mr. Judson had, at that time, no faith in the importance or growth of Maulmain. This will be seen by a single extract from his journal:

"February 10.—A few days ago went up to Maulmain to pay my respects to Sir Archibald Campbell, and also to obtain an interview with Dr. R. who attended Mrs. Judson in her last illness. Sir Archibald encourages our removing to his favorite station; but, as we are already settled here, we feel disposed to wait a little, until we see what the supreme government intend to do for the place."

On the 25th of the same month, just four weeks after Mr. Judson had recommenced his labors at Amherst in the acquired language, he had the happiness of assisting to set apart Moung Ing to the work of the ministry—though he was not empowered to administer the gospel ordinances. This was the first native assistant preacher ordained by American Baptists. They have now one hundred and twenty-eight at the Asiatic stations, and one hundred and ninety-two in all.

Moung Ing immediately repaired to Mergui, where he remained several months, and by his efficient labors cheered the hearts of those who had seen fit to ordain him.

Since she had become motherless, Maria Elizabeth Butterworth Judson had been in the charge of Mrs. Wade, whose kindest care, coupled with the best medical attention and the prayers of her father and christian friends, could not save her from gradually sinking under a complaint which had afflicted her for months. And on the 24th of April, 1827, Mr. Judson closed the eyes of his "sweet little Maria," the last member of his family, and prepared to lay her to rest beside her mother. Together, he wrote to his mother-in-law ten days afterward, "together, I trust their spirits are now rejoicing, after a short separation of precisely six months. Thus I am left alone in the wide world. * * * What remains for me, but to hold myself in readiness to follow the dear departed to that blessed world,

'Where my best friends, my kindred dwell,
Where God, my Saviour reigns?'"

Writing in regard to this bereavement, to the sisters of Mrs. Judson, a few months later, he says: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed, is death. Yes, awful power, thou shalt devour thyself and die. And then my angelic Ann, and my meek, blue-eyed Roger, and my tender-hearted, affectionate, darling Maria,—my venerable father, you, my dear sisters, that still remain, our still surviving parents, and, I hope, myself, though all unworthy, shall be rescued from the power of death and the grave; and when the crown of life is set on our heads, and we know assuredly, that we shall die no more, we shall make heaven's arches ring with songs of praise to Him, who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

CHAPTER XV.

Establishment of the Maulmain Mission, by Mr. Boardman — Messrs. Judson and Wade remove thither — Mr. Boardman removes to Tavoy — His Death — Mr. Judson renounces the title of D. D.—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Bennett — Messrs. Judson and Wade visit Rangoon — Mr. Judson proceeds to Prome — His return to Rangoon.

The rapid growth and increasing importance of Maulmain soon seemed to render it necessary that one of the missionaries should be stationed there; and it was decided among themselves that Mr. Boardman should go, which he accordingly did, in the month of May. Meantime, Mr. Wade was to remain at Amherst, and Mr. Judson to labor alternately at the two stations, apportioning his time between them as their exigences might require.

Before the middle of summer, Mrs. Wade collected twenty girls into a school, which she had opened in the spring; and the mission at Amherst was otherwise prospering. But in October, the population became so reduced, that it was deemed advisable to prepare for removing the school to Maulmain, and to abandon, for the present, the station at

Amherst. After a month's busy preparation, at the former place, Mr. Judson went down to the latter, on the 10th of November, and, four days after, himself, Mr. and Mrs. Wade, Moung Shwa-ba, and Moung Ing, who had returned from Mergui nearly a month previous, removed to Maulmain. Eleven of the females connected with Mrs. Wade's school, and some boys left in charge of the missionaries by Mah Men-la, accompanied them. Mr. Boardman had already established a school for boys, and Mrs. Boardman another for girls : the girls whom Mrs. Wade had in charge, were put into the latter school, and the two women labored conjointly, and with gratifying tokens of the Divine approbation. Two zayats, for Messrs. Judson and Wade, were forthwith erected, and all the missionaries were soon prosperously at work together in the new capital, whose population now numbered from fifteen to twenty thousand.

The following record, made by Mr. Judson, shows the promising aspect of things immediately after the union of the missionary band:

"NOVEMBER 25. Lord's day.—We have arranged a large room in front of the house, in the manner of the zayat, and to-day set up worship in the old Rangoon fashion ; and a busy day it has been. About seventy persons, great and small, attended worship in the afternoon; after which, twenty or thirty women followed Mrs. Wade into another room, and listened to her instruction."

Early in the winter of 1827, Mr. Judson resolved to erect a reading zayat, for the benefit of such persons as could not peruse the Burman Scriptures, yet were disposed to hear them read. Moung Shwa-ba and Moung Ing were appointed to perform alternately the exercises at this place; and the former made the commencement on the third Sunday in December. He was, at this period, employed half of the time on account of the mission, and the other half in connection with the female school. Moung Ing was devoting all his time to the interests of the mission, his office being that of an itinerant, having the whole city for his field.

All the missionaries and the two assistants were assiduously engaged in their delightful work at the close of the year, and their several distinct departments of labor were meeting with the favor of Heaven. Attentive listeners were seen at the reading zayat; inquirers were visiting the male missionaries at their several places of instruction; children in the female school were inquiring the way to Jesus; and two or three adults, who were indulging the hope that their sins had been forgiven, were contemplating burial with Christ in baptism.

The first disciples of the new religion, who went down into the waters at Maulmain, were Moung Dwah, the husband of Mah Doke, and a female named Mah Lah. They were baptized on the 17th of January, 1828. Another followed in the same ordinance on the 20th of March.

The collection of the missionaries at Maulmain, did not favorably impress the Board: neither did they themselves consider it desirable that they should permanently remain there. The corresponding secretary addressed them on the subject; they cheerfully complied with his instructions, and it was decided that Mr. Boardman should remove to the province of Tavoy, and establish a mission at its principal town, which takes the name of the district. Thither he went, on the 29th of March, and there he labored with remarkable success, particularly among the Karens. Though his career as a missionary was brief, he lived long enough to merit, for self-sacrificing toils and lofty generosity of spirit, the title of christian hero. He died on the 11th of February, 1831, and was buried in what was once a Buddhist grove, and beside a forsaken and dilapidated pagoda. His tomb is covered by a marble slab, which was placed there by three officers of the provincial government. Mr. Judson's feelings on hearing of his demise, are thus expressed in his journal of February 28th: "One of the brightest luminaries of Burmah is extinguished — dear brother Boardman has gone to his eternal rest. He fell gloriously at the head of his troops, in the arms of victory — thirty-eight wild Karens having been brought into the camp of King Jesus, since the beginning of the year, besides the thirty-two that were brought in during the two preceding years. Disabled by mortal wounds, he was obliged, through the whole of his last expedition, to be carried on a litter; but his presence was a host, and the Holy Spirit accompanied his dying whispers with almighty influence. Such a death, next to that of martyrdom, must be glorious in the eyes of Heaven."

The blessing of Heaven continued to attend the efforts of the missionaries who remained at Maulmain. The day after Mr. Boardman's departure, three converts were baptized, and three other persons were giving evidence of having been born of the Spirit. During the months of April and May, Mr. Judson was absent from the zayat scarcely a day, and he rarely failed to meet earnest inquirers, and not unfrequently half a dozen at a time. He was thus busily employed during the year, nor did the interest diminish in the least.

The number of additions made to the little church by baptism, in 1828, was thirty, and these were all natives. Eight were connected with Mrs. Wade's school, and one was Mah-ree or Mary Hasseltine, the only surviving member of Mrs. Judson's school at Ava.

The following card, having reference to the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity, was dated at Maulmain, May 9th, 1828:

"I beg leave to be allowed the privilege of requesting my correspondents and friends, through the medium of the American Baptist Magazine, and the Columbian Star, no longer to apply to my name the title which was conferred on me in the year 1823, by the corporation of Brown University, and which, with all deference and respect for that honorable body, I hereby resign.

"Nearly three years elapsed before I was informed of the honor done me, and two years more have been suffered to pass, partly from the groundless idea that it was too late to decline the honor, and partly through fear of doing what might seem to reflect on those who have taken a different course, or be liable to the charge of affected singularity, or superstitious preciseness. But I am now convinced that the commands of Christ, and the general spirit of the gospel, are paramount to all prudential considerations; and I only regret, that I have so long delayed to make this communication.

A. Judson."

On the 4th of January, 1829, Messrs. Judson and Wade had the happiness of ordaining Ko Thah-a as pastor of the church at Rangoon, where he had been laboring with a few followers of the Saviour, since the close of the war. In Mr. Judson's opinion, he had most excellent qualifications for the office to which he was called; and he was commissioned to administer all the ordinances. He took his departure for Rangoon one week after his ordination; and his subsequent success showed that Mr. Judson's estimate of his ministerial qualifications was correct. Moung Ing became his associate in a short time, and through their united efforts, twenty were added to the Rangoon church, by baptism, before the close of the year. Furthermore, several native christians, who had been scattered through the jungles, hearing of their labors, and of the resuscitation and enlargement of the church, came into the city, renewed their covenant vows, and worked as part of the organized body.

Among the promising inquirers and applicants for baptism, who visited Mr. Judson during the first half of the year 1829, was a woman, whose case was peculiar, and is thus mentioned in his journal for June 7th:

"Several applications for baptism have lately been refused, the applicants being relatives of professors of religion, and influenced, we fear, by the example and persuasion of others, rather than by the impulse of grace. To-day, however, a clear case occurred — an old lady, eighty years of age, mother-in-law of a petty chief, who is one of our bitterest opposers. She commenced her inquiries, several months ago, with a great deal of timidity. And though she has acquired a little courage, and is a person of considerable presence, she almost trembles under a sense of the great responsibility of changing her religion. Such being her character, the promptness with which she answered our questions before the church, affected us even to tears. 'How old are you, mother?' 'Eighty years.' 'Can you, at such an age, renounce the religion that you have followed all your life long?' 'I see that it is false, and I renounce it all.' 'Why do you wish to be baptized into the religion of Jesus Christ?' 'I have very, very many sins; and I love the Lord who saves from sin.' 'Perhaps your son-in-law, on hearing that you have been baptized, will abuse you, and turn you out of doors.' 'I have another son-in-law, to whom I will flee.' 'But he also is an opposer: suppose you should meet with the same treatment there.' 'You will, I think, let me come and live near you.' We made no reply, willing that she should prove her sincerity by bearing the brunt alone. Her name is Mah Hlah. Behold this venerable woman, severing, at her time of life, all the ties which bind her to a large circle of connections and friends, hazarding the loss of a comfortable, respectable situation, the loss of character, the loss of a shelter for her gray head, throwing herself on the charity of certain foreigners; and all for the sake of 'the Lord who saves from sin!' O blessed efficacy of the love of Christ!"

The number baptized into the Maulmain church, in the year 1829, was twenty-eight. Ten of these were English soldiers, who were shortly formed into a church by themselves.

While Mr. Judson was carrying on his labors at the zayat, there and elsewhere pointing the perishing heathen to the Lamb of God, there were hours, or fragments of hours, almost every day, which an economist of time like him could rescue from the oblivion of idleness, and these he was accustomed to devote to literary toil. In this department of labor he was now receiving valuable aid from Mr. Wade. At the close of the autumn of 1829, after twelve or fifteen months' close study, they had thoroughly revised the New Testament and the Epitome of the Old, and had ready for press no less than twelve other smaller works. These Mr. Judson enumerates as follows, in his journal for November 29th.

1st. The Catechism of Religion. This has already passed through two editions, in Burmese. It has also been translated and printed in Siamese, and translated in Taling or Peguese.

2d. The View of the Christian Religion; thoroughly revised for the fourth edition, in Burmese. It has also been translated in Taling and Siamese.

3d. The Order of Worship of the Burman Church.

4th. The Baptismal Service.

5th. The Marriage Service.

6th. The Funeral Service: the three last consisting chiefly of extracts from Scripture.

7th. The Teacher's Guide; or a digest of those parts of the New Testament which relate to the duty of teachers of religion; designed particularly for native pastors.

8th. A Catechism of Astronomy.

9th. A Catechism of Geography.

10th. A Table of Chronological History; or a Register of principal events, from the creation to the present time.

11th. The Memoir of Mee Shwa-ee.*

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*A little Burman girl, rescued from slavery at Amherst.

12th. The Golden Balance; or the Christian and Buddhist Systems Contrasted. This has been translated in the Taling.

At the time the above was written, the Gospel of Matthew, which had been translated in the Siamese, by Mrs. Judson, was being translated in Taling by an assistant in that department, named Ko Man-poke.

It will be seen that there was printing enough to do; but as yet there was no press at Maulmain. All work of this kind had to be sent to Serampore, which seriously impeded the progress of the mission. The wants of those who were anxious to read, could not be supplied. These wants, and Mr. Judson's feelings under the circumstances, are indicated in a letter addressed to a friend, in May, 1829. "O, it is affecting," he says, "to see with what eagerness the poor people, men, women, and children, listen to the sound of the gospel in their own native tongue; how they sometimes gather close around the reader, and listen with their eyes as well as ears. We keep a Taling copyist at work all the time; but it is impossible to do anything toward supplying the demand for Taling tracts. Indeed, the expense is so great, that we do not think of giving copies, except in the most pressing and important cases. The same is to be said of the Golden Balance in Burmese. O, we we want a thousand copies of this work to be sent instantly into all parts of the country — to Tavoy and Mergui, on the south; to Rangoon, Prome, and Ava, on the north; in all of which places we have correspondents, or some means of communication. But we are like men with their hands cut off."

Advertised of the wants of the mission, the Board sent out Mr. Cephas Bennett, a practical printer, who arrived at Maulmain, with a press and types, on the 14th of January, 1830. His wife and two children accompanied him. He forthwith commenced operations, and the works most needed were soon put to press.

In February, 1830, Mr. and Mrs. Wade went to Rangoon on a visit, with the expectation of returning in a short time; but their help was so much needed that they concluded to remain awhile. About the middle of April, the intense heat of the place so affected Mr. Wade, who had an attack of the liver complaint, that he took a trip to Maulmain, for his improvement. When he returned, which was the first week in May, Mr. Judson accompanied him, being encouraged to make an effort to reënter the heart of Burmah proper. He found the spirit of inquiry, in Rangoon, "more prevalent and more boldly indulged than formerly," and had reason "to thank God for all the past, and take courage for the time to come."

On the 25th of May he writes: "Every day deepens the conviction in my mind, that I am not in the place where God would have me be. It was to the interior, and not to Rangoon, that my mind was turned long before I left Maulmain; and while I feel that brother and sister Wade are in the right place, I feel that I am called elsewhere."

The place he had in view at this time, was the city of Prome, about half way up the Irrawaddy to Ava. Thither he started on the 29th of the month, accompanied by Moung Ing, and three or four other native converts. The boat was about two weeks in reaching Prome, Mr. Judson being in no haste, and wishing to sow beside the waters on the route. He halted at most of the settlements along the shores, and distributed books and tracts, and sometimes "held forth" to the throngs that gathered round him. They were so eager to obtain books that, in some instances, they not only pursued him to the boat, at night, but when he had pushed out into the stream to avoid them and obtain rest, they would stand on the shore and call, in the dead of night, to know if the teacher were asleep, stating that they wanted "a writing to get by heart." At one or two villages, he met early converts, whom he had not seen for years, and at others, heard, in one or two instances, of the conversion of persons whom he had never seen, but in whose hearts the seeds of truth had been lodged, through his instrumentality, long before.

The people of Prome, influenced by suspicion, or more probably afraid of goverment, refused to rent Mr. Judson a house; and he found it difficult to obtain a home. As the only alternative, he sought an English gentleman, the sole European living there, and under his shattered roof he was freely admitted. The first Sabbath in the place, July 13th, he passed at home, worshiping with his little company of disciples, and studying "patience and Thomas a' Kempis," "with the rain beating in on every side."

The day previous to this, he had found an aged and dismantled zayat, with a patch of ground around it, in the center of the city, and had received some encouragement from the deputy governor, that it should be repaired for his use. On Monday, he went to the court house, where his excellency agreed the matter should be decided. He "found the magistrates assembled, each sitting at his post in Burman style, and the deputy governor in the center. He pretended," continues Mr. Judson, "not to see or know me. I waited some time, and in an interval of business, addressed some of the inferior magistrates. An inquiry arose who I was, and what I wanted. The deputy governor began slyly to assist me, and after some considerable conversation, it was unanimously agreed that I should be permitted to take possession of the old zayat, and repair it for my present residence. From the court house I went to survey my new estate. I find it to be forty-five feet long and twenty wide. The posts and the main parts of the roof and floor, being of teak, are still extant; but it is all overgrown with wild creepers, and makes, on the whole, a pretty venerable ruin. It stands on holy ground, occupying one corner of the enclosure of a pagoda."

The repairing of this "venerable ruin" was commenced on the 15th of June, and Mr. Judson soon had an opportunity to lift up his voice publicly and cry, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters," in a city that had stood twenty-five centuries and had never before been invited to drink of the river of life. One or two other zayats were soon erected for the use of Moung Ing and his associates.

For awhile the votaries of Gaudama crowded to the zayats, from day to day, and listened to the pressing and precious invitation; many seemed willing to comply with its terms, and a few, a very few, did do it. At length, while things were in this state, the enemy, writes Mr. Judson, (August 23d, 1830,) "assumed a threatening aspect; the poor people became frightened; many sent back the tracts they had received; and there was a general falling off at the zayats. I was summoned to undergo a long examination at the court house, not, however, on the subject of religion, but concerning all my past life, since I have been in Burmah. The result was forwarded to Ava. The magistrates still preserve a perfect neutrality, in consequence of the absence of the governor. At Ava, I have been regarded as a suspicious character ever since I deserted them at the close of the war and went over to the British. I know not what impression the governor of this place will there receive, or how he will feel toward me, when he is informed of the noise I am making in Prome."

Mr. Judson continued to labor at this place until autumn, though there was but little to encourage him at the zayats, or indeed elsewhere. Yet he managed, as usual, to employ himself in some useful manner. On the 8th of September, he writes to the missionaries at Maulmain:* "The rise of the river has, for several days, prevented my going to the zayats, they being situated in a distant part of the town. I have employed myself in revising brother Wade's Investigator: and send herewith a clean copy. In return, I hope to be favored with a few hundred printed copies."

At this date, the last inquirer had fled from the zayat and, probably, from the place; and the way seemed nearly clear for Mr. Judson's return to Rangoon. Ten days afterward, being afloat on his little boat just below the city, he writes: "I take leave of Prome and her towering god, Shwa Lan-dau, at whose base, I have been laboring with the kindest intentions, for the last three months and a half. Too firmly founded art thou, to be overthrown at present; but the children of those who now plaster thee with gold, will yet pull thee down, nor leave one brick upon another."

Though somewhat disappointed at being forsaken by the inquirers at the zayat, and obliged to leave Prome so soon, Mr. Judson was not wholly dissatisfied with his brief sojourn there. He had communicated many a "momentous message" to its inquiring citizens; he had also scattered hundreds of tracts; and having thus cast the bread upon the waters, he departed with a buoyant and hopeful spirit, *expecting* to "find it after many days."

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* Mr. Boardman was at Maulmain part of the time during Mr. Judson's absence on this occasion. Mr. Wade returned there in July, 1830.

"Farewell to thee, Prome! Willingly would I have spent my last breath in thee and for thee. But thy sons ask me not to stay; and I must preach the gospel to other cities, also; for therefore am I sent. Read the five hundred tracts that I have left with thee. Pray to the God and Saviour that I have told thee of. And if, hereafter, thou call me, though in the lowest whisper, and it reach me in the very extremities of the empire, I will joyfully listen, and come back to thee."

Mr. Judson landed in Rangoon on the 25th of September; and, on the 8th of the following month, ascertained the cause of the sudden and somewhat mysterious cessation of visits at the zayats, in Prome. The king had become annoyed, because he was in the heart of his empire, distributing tracts and promulgating the doctrines of a religion at war with Buddhism, and had issued an order for his removal from Prome. The people, hearing of this royal step, became alarmed, and shunned the strange teacher. The order thus issued, the woongyees were reluctant to execute, and applied to Major Burney, the British Resident at the capital, to use his authority, and compel Mr. Judson to depart. But he assured them he had not a right to interfere, as the missionary had no connection with the British government: he furthermore begged them not to proceed in the prosecution of a measure which good men in all countries would condemn for its intolerance. They replied, that the king's orders were peremptory; that he *must* leave the interior, and limit his labors to the boundaries of Rangoon. Seeing how the case stood, Major Burney agreed to notify Mr. Judson of the king's order; but Providence had ordained that the messenger of peace should, of his own accord, shake from his feet the dust of the old idolatrous city of Prome, and depart in peace.

CHAPTER XVI.

Labors of Mr. Judson at Rangoon — Removal to Maulmain — Arrival of Messrs. Mason, Kincaid, and Jones — Mr. Judson travels in the Jungle, and establishes the Christian Communities of Wadesville, Newville, and Chummerah — Another Tour among the Karens.

On his return to Rangoon, Mr. Judson found the mass of the people so fearful of being apprehended by government, that they avoided the public place of christian worship; and, such being the case, although there were many secret inquirers, he deemed it a suitable time to hasten forward the translation of the Scriptures; for he now felt more than ever the importance of having the task completed. Retiring to the garret of the house which himself and some of the disciples occupied, he resumed his labors on the Psalms, which he had begun to translate three years previous, and which had been laid aside to attend to more pressing work. But his seclusion was not such as to free him from interruption; nor was the interest in spiritual matters at such a low ebb as to make it desirable that he should wholly withdraw from personal contact with the people. While the disciples who occupied the front part of the house below, were accustomed to receive calls from inquirers, and present them with tracts and portions of the divine word, the more hopeful ones were admitted to Mr. Judson's apartment; and they were so numerous as to absorb more than half of his time. "People," he says, "find their way to me from all parts of the country, and some, I trust, return with that light in their heads, and that love in their hearts, and that truth in their hands, which will operate as a little leaven, until the whole mass is leavened."

The spirit of inquiry, so prevalent in the autumn of 1830, continued through the following winter and spring, and seemed to be spreading through the whole region; and Mr. Judson sometimes felt alarmed, as he beautifully expresses himself, "like a person who sees a mighty engine beginning to move, over which he knows he has no control."

During the several months that he occupied the garret, he perambulated the streets about sunrise, from day to day, partially, we suppose, for his health, but more particularly, as he himself states, to distribute tracts. He made it a rule, to give to none but those who asked for them; and, when he first commenced, usually disposed of less than twenty. In a few months, they averaged more than three times that number, and he had reason to think that they were generally read and preserved.

The anxiety of the disciples of Gaudama to know something about the true God, was strikingly manifested at a festival in honor of the false god, held near the close of the winter of 1830–31, and witnessed by Mr. Judson. He speaks of it, and other matters of interest, in a letter written on the 4th of March, 1831, and addressed to a friend in Connecticut, who had sent him a donation of fifty dollars. After thanking this gentleman for his contribution, and expressing a wish that such presents might become more frequent, and be made directly to the Board, he continues:

"I can spare time to write a few lines only, having a constant press of missionary work on hand; add to which, that the weather is dreadfully oppressive at this season. Poor Boardman has just died under it, and Mrs. Wade is nearly dead. Brother Wade and myself are now the only men in the mission that can speak and write the language; and we have a population of above ten millions of perishing souls before us. I am persuaded that the only reason why all the dear friends of Jesus in America do not come forward in the support of missions, is mere want of information, (such information as they would obtain by taking any of the periodical publications.) If they could only see and know half what I do, they would give all their property, and their persons too.

"The great annual festival is just past, during which multitudes came from the remotest parts of the country, to worship at the great Shway Dagong pagoda, in this place, where it is believed that several real hairs of Gaudama are enshrined. During the festival, I have given away nearly ten thousand tracts, giving to none but those who ask. I presume there have been six thousand applications at the house. Some come two or three months' journey, from the borders of Siam and China,—'Sir, we hear that there is an eternal hell. We are afraid of it. Do give us a writing that will tell us how to escape it.' Others come from the frontiers of Cassay, a hundred miles north of Ava,—'Sir, we have seen a writing that tells about an eternal God. Are you the man that gives away such writings? If so, pray give us one, for we want to know the truth before we die.' Others come from the interior of the country, where the name of Jesus Christ is a little known,—'Are you Jesus Christ's man? Give us a writing that tells about Jesus Christ.' Brother Bennett works day and night at press; but he is unable to supply us; for the call is great at Maulmain and Tavoy, as well as here, and his types are very poor, and he has no efficient help. The fact is, that we are very weak, and have to complain that hitherto we have not been well supported from home. It is most distressing to find, when we are almost worn out, and are sinking, one after another, into the grave, that many of our brethren in Christ at home, are just as hard and immovable as rocks; just as cold and repulsive as the mountains of ice in the polar seas. But whatever they do, we cannot sit still, and see the dear Burmans, flesh and blood like ourselves, and like ourselves possessed of immortal souls, that will shine forever in heaven, or burn forever in hell,—we can not see them go down to perdition, without doing our very utmost to save them. And thanks be to

God, our labors are not in vain. We have three lovely churches, and about two hundred baptized converts, and some are in glory. A spirit of religious inquiry is extensively spreading throughout the country, and the signs of the times indicate that the great renovation of Burmah is drawing near. O, if we had about twenty more versed in the language, and means to spread schools, and tracts, and Bibles, to any extent, how happy I should be!"

In the summer of 1831, Mr. Judson went to Maulmain to take the place of Mr. Wade, who was obliged to leave on account of the ill health of his wife. They contemplated visiting the United States, and embarked for Calcutta with that intention; but the ship in which they sailed was driven out of her course by violent gales, and put into Kyouk Phyoo, an Arracanese port, where Mrs. Wade's health so rapidly improved, that the visit to this country was abandoned. They returned to Maulmain in September, and proceeded to Mergui,* in the province of the same name, and there labored six months, and then went to Rangoon.

Previous to Mr. Judson's removal to Maulmain, the mission had been reinforced by the arrival of six missionaries,— Rev. Messrs. Francis Mason, Eugenio

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* Mergui is the capital of the province, and is about one hundred and fifty miles south of Tavoy. A native assistant had visited the place four years previous, by direction of the missionaries; and while Mr. Wade was there, a small church was organized, and this assistant appointed pastor.

Kincaid, and J. T. Jones, and their wives. Mr Mason arrived just before the death of Mr. Boardman, and took his place at Tavoy, where he is still laboring. Mr. Jones went to Rangoon, to take the place of Mr. Judson; returned to Maulmain in the early part of 1832, and ere long went to Siam, where he is now living with his third wife. His removal from Rangoon occasioned the transfer of Mr. Wade from Mergui thither. Mr. Kincaid was stationed awhile at Maulmain, and labored in connection with Messrs. Judson and Bennett. He had charge of the European church. His wife died on the 19th of December, 1831, only a few months after her arrival on foreign shores. Mr. Judson preached the funeral sermon, taking for his subject, the resurrection of the dead; and many a veteran soldier, writes the smitten one, " wept over the awful solemnities of the grave." Mr. Kincaid removed to Rangoon in February, 1832.

Soon after Mr. Judson's removal to Maulmain, a school was opened for the purpose of teaching adults to read. It commenced with five pupils, two of whom were members of the church; and by the first of November, ten weeks after its commencement, it numbered twenty. It prospered until its suspension, which was at the close of the year, its members generally having become fluent readers.

On the 5th of September, Mr. Judson started for Wadesville, three or four day's journey from Maulmain. Mr. Wade had previously baptized some Karens there, and organized a church, which was now under the charge of an assistant named Moung

Doot. Eight more were added on the 11th of the month. The next day Mr. Judson removed a short distance, to accommodate some converts who could not come to him, and he had the happiness of baptizing five more. He journeyed two or three days longer, caught the jungle fever, left the scene on the 17th, and, returning to Maulmain, was laid up eight or ten days.

On the 23d of October, baptism was administered to Moung Zah, "a pure Burman from that favored district below Ava, which is blest with the genuine impression, in stone, of the foot of Gaudama!" Two weeks afterward, the hundredth member united with the European church, all of whose communicants, except the first fifteen, were baptized by Mr. Kincaid. Other departments of the mission there were being blessed. No less than one hundred and thirty-six were baptized at Maulmain in the year 1831. During the same period, five were added to the church in Rangoon, and seventy-six in Tavoy. Of the whole number, eighty-nine were foreigners, and one hundred and nine Karens. The remaining nineteen were Talings and Burmans.*

During most of this time, Mr. Bennett was industriously engaged in the printing office; and at least two hundred thousand copies of books and tracts had now been scattered through the realms of Buddhism, and were silently performing their mighty work.

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* At the close of the year, Mr. Judson made out a table, exhibiting the number baptized in Burmah from the beginning of the mission, eighteen years before. The total was three hundred and seventy-three, of whom two hundred and sixty were natives. Eleven had been excluded, and the same number had died.

At the commencement of the year 1832, we find Mr. Judson journeying in the jungle, north and north-east of Maulmain. He spent the first two months almost entirely in following the Salwen, the Dagaing, and their several tributaries, in their sinuosities through the wilderness: halting, here and there, at little villages or clusters of houses; collecting native converts, and feeding them with the bread of eternal life; baptizing such persons as requested the ordinance, and were thought to be proper subjects; and pointing to the Lamb of God such as expressed a desire to behold him and live. Some of the disciples accompanied him, and were accustomed to precede him in arriving at a village, and herald his approach to such as were interested in his mission. Sometimes he found the inhabitants of a place, almost as a body, ready to welcome him, and glad to receive his message; at other villages, he met with inveterate opposition, every face being turned from him with frigid indifference. During the early part of these journeyings, he selected the site of a christian village, on the Dagaing, a few miles below Wadesville, and laid its foundation by establishing a church. The name given to the place was Newville. About four weeks afterward, on the 4th of February, he selected the site for a similar community, on the banks of the Salwen, about sixty miles north of Maulmain; gave it the name of Chummerah, and appointed a native disciple to officiate there. This station was unhealthy, and was abolished in 1836, on account of the inhabitants abandoning the place.

Mr. Judson returned to Maulmain on the 11th of February, having been absent six weeks. During this time, he had baptized twenty-five, and "registered about the same number of hopeful inquirers."

The journal of Mr. Judson during these travels in the jungle, abounds with interesting incidents and facts, strikingly illustrative of the power of truth. We will repeat a single anecdote, which he recorded soon after establishing the village of Newville, and which shows the happy results of making tract-distributors of the natives. A man and his wife, who resided in the jungle, and had never seen a foreign missionary, nor had an opportunity to be baptized, had obtained the blessed "writing" and died in the faith. The husband, a short time before his death, requested his surviving friends to lay the "View of the Christian Religion" on his quieted breast, and bury it with him.

About the first of March, Mr. Judson resolved to make another tour among the Karens on the Salwen; and we conclude this chapter with some extracts, from his journal, kept on the occasion. They present a vivid picture of missionary life in the jungle.

March 10.— Went on to the mouth of the Yen being, and as far as the great log, which prevents a boat from proceeding further. Providentially, met with Wah-hai, of whom I have heard a good report for some time. He was happy to see us, and we were happy to examine and baptize him. We then visited the village, whence they formerly sent a respectful message desiring us to go about our business, and found some attentive listeners.

11th. Lord's day.— Again took the main river, and soon fell in with a boat, containing several of the listeners of yesterday, among whom was one man, who declared his resolution to enter the new religion. We had scarcely parted with this boat, when we met another, full of men, coming down the stream; and, on hailing to know whether they wished to hear the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, an elderly man, the chief of the party, replied, that he had already heard much of the gospel, and there was nothing he desired more, than to have a meeting with the teacher. Our boats were soon side by side; where, after a short engagement, the old man struck his colors, and begged us to take him into port, where he could make a proper surrender of himself to Christ. We accordingly went to the shore, and spent several hours very delightfully, under the shade of the overhanging trees, and the banner of the love of Jesus. The old man's experience was so clear, and his desire for baptism so strong, that, though circumstances prevented our gaining so much testimony of his good conduct, since believing, as we usually require, we felt that it would be wrong to refuse his request. A lad in his company, the person mentioned January 30th, desired also to be baptized. But, though he had been a preacher to the old man, his experience was not so decided and satisfactory; so that we rejected him for the present. The old man went on his way, rejoicing aloud, and declaring his resolution to make known the eternal God, and the dying love of Jesus, on all the banks of the Yoon-za-len, his native stream.

The dying words of an aged man of God, when he waved his withered, death-struck arm, and exclaimed, "*The best of all is, God is with us,*" I feel in my very soul. Yes, the Great Invisible is in these Karen wilds. That mighty Being, who heaped up these craggy rocks, and reared these stupendous mountains, and poured out these streams in all directions, and scattered immortal beings throughout these deserts — He is present, by the influence of his Holy Spirit, and accompanies the sound of the gospel, with converting, sanctifying power. "*The best of all is, God is with us.*"

> "In *these* deserts let me labor,
> On *these* mountains let me tell,
> How he died — the blessed Saviour,
> To redeem a world from Hell."

12.— Alas, how soon is our joy turned into mourning. Mah Nyah-ban, of whom we all had such a high opinion, joined her husband, not many days after their baptism, in making an offering to the demon of diseases, on account of the sudden, alarming illness of their youngest child; and they have remained ever since in an impenitent, prayerless state! They now refuse to listen to our exhortation, and appear to be given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind. I was, therefore, obliged, this morning, to pronounce the sentence of suspension, and leave them to the mercy and judgment of God. Their case is greatly to be deplored. They are quite alone in this quarter; have seen no disciples since we left them, and are surrounded with enemies, some from Maul'main, who have told them all manner of lies, and used every method to procure and perpetuate their apostacy. When I consider the evidence of grace which they formerly gave, together with all the palliating circumstances of the case, I have much remaining hope, that they will yet be brought to repentance. I commend them to the prayers of the faithful, and the notice of any missionary who may travel this way. In consequence of the advantage which Satan has gained in this village, the six hopeful inquirers whom we left here have all fallen off; so that we are obliged to retire with the dispirited feelings of beaten troops.

Returned down the river, — reëntered the Yenbeing, — had another interview with the listeners of yesterday, — met with a Taling doctor from Kanhlah, near Maulmain, who listened all the evening with evident delight.

13th. — Spent the day and night at Zatzan's, Seehais, and the village of Laidan, where we failed of finding Mah Kee-kah; but found her parents, who listened well. In these parts, I leave a considerable number of hopeful inquirers. May the Lord bless the seed sown, and give us the pleasure of reaping a plentiful harvest at no very distant period.

17th.—Returned up the river to Chummerah. In the evening, had a considerable assembly of disciples, preparatory to the administration of the Lord's supper.

18th. Lord's day.—Administered the Lord's supper to thirty-six communicants, chiefly from villages on the Salwen.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arrival of Mr. Cutter — Messrs. Kincaid and Cutter visit Ava — Mr. and Mrs. Wade sail for the United States — Arrival of Messrs. Brown and Webb, and Miss Harrington — Mr. Judson completes the Translation of the Bible — Marries Mrs. Boardman — Return of Mr. and Mrs. Wade with Messrs. Howard, Comstock, Dean, and Osgood, and Miss Gardner — Mr. Judson's Labors — Mr. Malcom's Visit — Growth of the Churches.

For a year and a half after Mr. Judson's return from Chummerah, there were but few if any incidents connected with his life, sufficiently important to be inserted in the condensed outline we present. The mission continued to prosper, and some important changes took place at the several stations, which it is proper to note.

In the spring of 1832, Mr. Bennett was joined by Mr. Oliver T. Cutter, a printer, who took with him a power press. In April of the same year, Mr. Bennett began the publication of the New Testament, and the last sheet of an edition of three thousand copies was printed on the 19th of December following. Before the power press could be set in operation,* or Mr. Cutter had learned the language, he lost his instructor; and about this time Mr. Bennett was obliged to remove temporarily to Rangoon to supply a vacancy occasioned by the departure of Mr. Kincaid to Ava.* The latter gentleman was joined at the capital in January, 1834, by Mr. Cutter, who took with him a printing press.

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* This press was never of service to the mission.

Immediately after a very profitable journey among the Karens in the Tenasserim provinces, made in the months of January and February, 1832, Mr. Wade repaired to Maulmain for his physical benefit. He there performed some important literary labor, making an alphabet and preparing a spelling book in the Karen tongue, and also translating Mrs. Judson's Burman Catechism and the precepts comprised in the "View of the Christian Religion." Having done

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* He left Rangoon on the 6th of April, 1833, accompanied by Mrs. Kincaid and her sister, and three native assistants, carrying with him seventeen thousand tracts and a large number of copies of the Gospels of Luke and John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. Their passage up the Irrawaddy was beset with dangers, yet marked by many occurrences of great interest, illustrative of the singular spirit of inquiry which, in spite of dread either of the government or the priesthood, seemed every where to pervade the minds of the people. They landed at nearly three hundred towns and villages along the banks of the stream, and, in nearly every place which they visited, they found some traces of the influence which had been exerted by the native christians, by tracts and books, or other agencies connected with the mission.— GAMMELL'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS.

Mr. Kincaid and the missionaries who had joined him at Ava, were driven out of the empire in 1837, by civil war, occasioned by the usurpation of the throne by a cruel and despotic prince named Tharawaddy, thus much for the Karens, he was attacked very severely with the liver complaint, which had continued to trouble him at times; and as medicine had proved ineffectual, he resolved to try the experiment of a change of climate. Accordingly, he set sail for the United States the last of August, and arrived in this country the following May. His wife and two native converts accompanied him.

On the 29th of June, 1832, the ship Fenelon sailed from Boston freighted with four bearers of light to the benighted; Rev. Thomas Simons, Mr. and Mrs. Royal B. Hancock, and Miss Sarah Cummings. They arrived at Maulmain on the first day of January, 1833. Mr. Simons was stationed there as a preacher, and, through the mercy of God, is still permitted, like Messrs. Wade and Kincaid, and some other early missionaries, to invite the destitute and perishing to " buy wine and milk without money, and without price." Mr. Hancock, who was a printer and stereotyper, took with him two presses, a large quantity of type, and the materials for a type foundry. A spacious and substantial printing establishment was soon erected at Maulmain, where it still stands, and, by the thunderings of its presses, is shaking the pagodas of south-eastern Asia.

Miss Cummings was an experienced teacher, and taking with her a Burman who was to assist her in acquiring the language, she hastened to the new, secluded, and unhealthy station at Chummerah, where she spent a year and a half in her studies, and in superintending a school; she then caught the jungle fever, and, returning to Maulmain, closed her eyes in death, on the 2d of August, 1834.

In the early part of the summer of 1833, the mission was again reinforced, by the arrival of Rev. Messrs. Nathan Brown and Abner Webb, their wives, and Miss C. J. Harrington. The last was afterward married to Mr. Simons. Messrs. Brown and Webb studied the language at Maulmain, until the following January, when they removed to Rangoon. Mr. Bennett then returned to Maulmain. About two years afterward, Mr. Brown, in company with Mr. Cutter, went to Assam, where both are now toiling.

During the interval between the spring of 1832 and the beginning of the year 1834, Mr. Judson remained almost constantly at Maulmain, and devoted the major portion of his time to translating the Old Testament. And at length the great work was completed; the Burmans had the whole Bible in their own language. The last page was written on the last day of January, 1834. Mr. Judson had prosecuted this gigantic labor amid "the changes of many years, often in solitude, in sickness, and in sorrow; and now that it was completed, he dedicated it with pious gratitude, and an humble sense of its imperfections, to the service and the glory of God. The scene, as incidentally mentioned in his journal, is one of affecting interest and grandeur. Poets, historians, and moralists, have all recorded the feelings of exultation with which they have completed some work which they imagined 'the world would not willingly let die.' But the missionary retires alone, and with the last leaf of his imperishable work in his hand, he prays for the forgiveness of Heaven on all the sins that have mingled with his labors, and devoutly commends it to the mercy and grace of God, to be used as an instrument in converting the heathen to Himself. Thus was the greatest of blessings conferred on the people of Burmah, and in its uncultivated soil was planted the tree of life, whose perennial leaves shall be for the healing of the nation. The translation received the emendations and corrections of its author, and has been pronounced by scholars and philologists acquainted with the Burman tongue, to be unusually accurate and perfect,—well fitted to transmit to successive generations the unadulterated word of God. The entire Bible was put immediately to press, and handsome appropriations were made by the American Bible Society, to aid its publication."—GAMMELL'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS.

In an eloquent discourse on the life and character of Mr. Judson, delivered in Boston, at the annual meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Union, in May, 1851, Rev. William Hague expresses the opinion that, "if, in a coming age, some Allston should wish to employ his pencil in picturing forth a single action that should express at once the great aim, the chosen means, and the true spirit of the modern missionary enterprise, he could scarcely select a more fitting scene than that which Heaven witnessed with a smile, when Adoniram Judson was seen kneeling by the side of that table over which he had long bent his frame in studious application, holding in his hand the last leaf of the Burman Bible, with his eyes uplifted, and with a countenance radiant with joy, thanking God that his life had been spared to achieve this work, and imploring the Divine Spirit to make the silent page a messenger of life to many."

Before finishing the translation of the Scriptures, Mr. Judson again visited the church at Chummerah, where he spent a few months, instructing its members and counseling inquirers; and in March, 1834, we find him at Newville, on a similar errand:

"March 12.—I have spent a few days in this place, where, on my arrival, I found the church consisting of twenty-five members only; several having removed to the vicinity of the Chummerah church; which, though of later origin, is now five or six times larger than the Newville. Day before yesterday, and to-day, nine new members have been received at this place, and there are five or six others, with whom I feel satisfied; but, for various reasons, their baptism has been deferred. In the number received, the most noticeable case is that of Lausau and wife. He is a petty chief, and possesses more personal influence than any Karen yet baptized in these parts. He has been considering the christian religion, with approbation, for three years, but has had great difficulties to encounter, resulting from his family connections, and from his inveterate habit of *temperate* *drinking.* Until the present time, he could never resolve on adopting the principle of entire abstinence; but I trust that conviction of truth, and love of the Saviour, have enabled him to gain the victory.

16.—On leaving Newville, it was my intention to go up the Patah river; but, not finding sufficient water this season, I turned into the Houng-tarau; and, having visited a village, where there are several inquirers, returned to Maulmain."

Soon after this date, he went to Tavoy, and was there married to Mrs. Boardman, on the 10th of April.

The maiden name of Mr. Judson's second wife was Hall. She was born in Alstead, New Hampshire, November 4th, 1803. While she was quite young, her parents removed to Danvers, Massachusetts, and ere long to Salem, in the same state. In this place she received her education, and gave her hand to Mr. Boardman. This event occurred on the 4th of July, 1825, in which month they sailed for Burmah.

After the death of Mr. Boardman, she continued to conduct a school at Tavoy, and was remarkably successful in this sphere. Not unfrequently she made tours in remote rural sections of the province, taking with her an infant son, who was carried by her followers. Cheered by his musical prattle, she forded small streams, traversed broad marshes, urged her way through "wild mountain passes" and among "craggy rocks and tangled shrubs of the jungle;" and, in innumerable ways, exhibited a degree of perseverance, energy, and boldness, second only to her's who stood many long months at the door of the death-prison in Ava, and followed her husband on his "blood-tracked march" to the gloomy cells of Oung-pen-la.

The school which Mrs. Judson had conducted at Tavoy, and which was suspended on her removal to Maulmain, was reorganized by Mrs. Wade on her return from America.

Mr. Wade and his industrious, self-sacrificing companion, reëntered the field in December, 1834, bringing with them eleven co-workers — Rev. Messrs. Hosea Howard, Grover S. Comstock, William Dean, Justus H. Vinton, and Mr. Sewall M. Osgood, with their wives, and Miss Ann P. Gardner. The last was a member of Mr. Wade's family, and was connected with the Tavoy mission. In 1837, she was united in marriage with Rev. E. L. Abbott, who had been appointed a missionary two years previous, and who has been toiling for years among the Sgau Karens, his station being at Sandoway. Mr. Osgood was a printer, and took up his abode at Maulmain. Mr. Vinton spent a brief season at Chummerah, just before its desertion; and in 1836 we find him stationed at Balu Island, with Newville, Chetthingsville, and Bootah, for out-stations. Mr. Dean went, at first, to Siam; and at Hongkong, China, is now, with some of his coadjutors, showing that, intellectually, there are "giants" in *these* days. Mr. Comstock settled at

Kyouk Phyoo, and died at Akyab in 1844. Mr. Howard went to Rangoon.

With the mission thus strengthened, well might Mr. Judson rejoice! "My heart," he writes, "leaps for joy, and swells with gratitude and praise to God, when I think of brother Jones at Bankok, in the southern extremity of the continent, and brother Brown at Sudiya, in Assam, on the frontiers of China — immensely distant points — and of all the intervening stations, Ava, Rangoon, Kyouk Phyoo, Maulmain, and Tavoy, and the churches and schools which are springing up in every station and throughout the Karen wilderness. Happy lot, to live in these days! O happy lot, to be allowed to bear a part in the glorious work of bringing an apostate world to the feet of Jesus! Glory, glory be to God!"

After translating the Bible, Mr. Judson devoted a large portion of his time, for four or five years, to its revision, giving to this division of the labor more days than to translating. The last page of the first edition of the Old Testament was printed on the 29th of December, 1835.

Aside from the task of revising, Mr. Judson was accustomed to read the proof sheets of the Scriptures, tracts, and other works, as they went to press; to spend some hours each forenoon at the zayat; to hold morning prayer meetings, with native assistants, whom he privately instructed from day to day, and then sent out to itinerate in the city, and in adjacent villages; and to perform many other duties, which absorbed no inconsiderable part of his time, but which it might be deemed needless to detail.

In the early part of 1836, the missionaries were visited by Rev. Howard Malcom, now president of Lewisburg University. He had been sent out by direction of the Board of Managers, to survey the mission field in Asia; learn the condition and wants of the several stations, and to consult with the missionaries in regard to the general interests of the cause in those parts. Fourteen missionaries accompanied him. They were Rev. Messrs. Lovell Ingalls, James M. Haswell, Alanson Reed, John L. Shuck, Robert D. Davenport, (printer,) Samuel S. Day, and their wives, Rev. Elisha L. Abbott, and Miss Eleanor Macomber. They were designated to the several missions in Asia.

A ministerial conference was held at Maulmain, commencing on the 30th of March, five or six weeks after Mr. Malcom's arrival. The missionaries present were Messrs. Judson, Wade, Bennett, Kincaid, Hancock, Mason, Vinton, Osgood, Howard, Haswell, Webb, and Abbott. "Every day, except the Sabbath," writes Mr. Malcom, "was diligently spent in the business, and, beside many important topics, which, though fully discussed, did not come to a formal vote, the following subjects were acted upon, besides minor ones: The establishment of a seminary for native assistants; its location, temporary preceptor, and course of studies, and by-laws; new fields of labor proposed and described; native schools; polygamy among natives, and the management of such cases in regard to applicants for baptism; reducing the size of the Burman character; the plan of giving English names to native children; boarding schools, and the best mode of their endowment. Considerable time was taken up in designating the new missionaries to their fields of labor. They seem to be as jewels, which each was anxious to seize. Every man felt keenly the claims of his station or neighborhood, and longed to see more laborers in what he deemed so promising a field. It was a noble strife of disinterested love, and, so small was the reinforcement, compared with the admitted wants, on all sides, that it was difficult to decide where aid should first be sent.

"The next Sabbath, being the first in April, I preached to the brethren and sisters, by vote of the convocation. We met in the new and unfinished chapel, built for the native church. The building, though large for Burmah, is scarcely larger than many dining-rooms in India; yet, as our little band arranged themselves in one corner, we seemed lost in the space. There was, however, moral power in the meeting; and, when I reflected on the recent origin of the mission, its small beginnings, and its various dangers and hindrances, the company before me was a most refreshing sight. Here were twelve missionaries, besides Misses Gardner and Macomber, and the missionaries' wives. Elsewhere in the mission were four evangelists and a printer, not computing those in Siam. The text was, 'Glorify ye the Lord in the fires;' and every heart seemed to say

Amen, as sentence after sentence came forth. It is delightful, preaching to greedy listeners; and long had most of these been deprived of the refreshment of sitting under a gospel sermon. Mr. Judson had not heard a sermon in English for fourteen years.

"As my eye rested on this loved little company, it was sweet to contemplate the venerable founder of the mission, sitting there to rejoice in the growth of the cause he had so assiduously and painfully sustained. His labors and sufferings for years; his mastery of the language; his translation of the whole Word of God; and his being permitted now to be the pastor of a church containing over a hundred natives,—make him the most interesting missionary now alive. What a mercy that he yet lives to devote to this people his enlarged powers of doing good! And we may hope he will very long be spared. His age is but forty-seven; his eye is not dim; not a gray hair shows itself among his full auburn locks; his moderate-sized person seems full of vigor; he walks almost every evening a mile or two at a quick pace, lives with entire temperance and regularity, and enjoys, in general, steadfast health. May a gracious God continue to make him a blessing more and more."

About this period, the missionaries in British Burmah and Burmah Proper, were organized into four separate communities, designated the Maulmain, Rangoon, Tavoy, and Ava missions, each mission having one or more stations and out-stations connected with it. This step was taken for the more convenient associate action of the increasing band of missionaries.

The progress of truth in Burmah at this time, may be seen at a glance, by reference to the reported baptisms! The whole number thus added to the several churches, in 1836, was three hundred and fifty-eight; two hundred and six at the Rangoon mission, ninety-one at the Tavoy, fifty-four at the Maulmain, and seven at the Ava. The increase of the Maulmain churches the following year was nearly twice as great.

Associated with Mr. Judson at Maulmain, in the beginning of 1838, were Messrs. Hancock and Osgood, five native preachers, and about thirty assistants, including twenty-five in the printing department.

Mr. Bennett had removed to Tavoy, where he is still laboring, his department being among the Sgau Karens. He and Mr. Osgood, and some of the other printers, were early empowered to preach, often using their gifts profitably to the cause of Christ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Retrospect of Mr. Judson's Career — Review of the Progress of Baptist Missions — Illness of Mr. Judson, Voyage to Calcutta and Return — Maulmain Theological Seminary, and other Schools — Revised Edition of the Burman Bible — Rangoon abandoned by the Missionaries — The Judson Family visit Calcutta and Serampore — Loss of a Member — The Survivors proceed to the Isle of France — Return to Maulmain.

A quarter of a century had now elapsed since Mr. Judson first landed at Rangoon, and looked upon its multitudinous pagodas and other painful indices of the superstition of Burmah; and, without the ability to utter a sentence in the language of the people, began, single handed and unequipped, to prepare, and then to apply the agencies by which he hoped, eventually, to see the foundation of those monuments of idolatry loosened and undermined. With the eye of faith steadily fixed on the divine commission, he commenced the work; and, although nearly six years passed before he saw the clouds of paganism dispelled from a single mind, he neither fainted nor faltered. Feeling that he had an injunction from Heaven to toil for the good of the heathen, nothing could quench his love for their souls, nothing could drive from him the high purpose to win them to Christ. He had been expelled from one country by the intolerance of a jurisdiction nominally christian; had been imprisoned in another by the same spirit, coupled with ignorance of the governmental relations of western nations; had been exposed to perils, by sea and by land; had passed a year and a half in chains, and part of this time in one of the gloomiest and most filthy death-prisons on the globe; and had laid in the grave the last member of the little family that had participated with him in suffering and sorrow, at Oung-pen-la. But, however deep his afflictions; however great his dangers; however hard the gripe of intolerance and persecution; his great spirit bore all, with a patience and fortitude that drew exhaustless nourishment from the stores of sovereign grace. From out the ocean of grief, he rose with his heart subdued and his soul more sanctified; he escaped from death with increased confidence in God, and better prepared to face other dangers; and when divine Providence saw fit to shake off his chains, he renewedly dedicated his unshackled limbs to the service of missions, and resumed his labors with redoubled industry and almost superhuman zeal.

Amid these disheartening circumstances, and a multitude of retarding influences, the glorious enterprise on which he entered Burmah unbefriended and alone, though fluctuating at times, had made inspiring progress. He, who stood on the shores of the empire twenty-five years before, speechless in the Burman tongue, and without a grammar or dictionary to aid him, had become an eloquent preacher in the language of ten millions of heathen; had given the votaries of Gaudama a faithful transcript of the word of the true God in their peculiar dialect; had plunged into the jungle, reached the heart of the Burman dynasty, and scattered the seeds of truth around the golden foot; had personally organized little churches here and there, beneath the shadow of some towering pagoda; was rejoicing with the sweet assurance that the arches of heaven had rung more than a thousand times over the conversion of a soul to God, at some one of the stations or outstations which he had seen established; was associated with nearly fifty missionaries from his native land, together with a multitude of native assistants; and was now beholding scattered annually through the realms of Buddhism more than ten million pages of that Book, "whose leaves are for the healing of the nations."

Nor were the changes that had taken place in heathen lands, or among the heathen tribes and errorists of christian lands, through the exertions of American Baptists, confined to Asia. He, who wrote from India to his unknown "Baptist friends in the United States," asking them for support before they had organized a society for promoting foreign missions, could now look over the globe and behold stations under the control and sustained by the contributions of his denomination, not only among the Burmese, the Siamese, the Chinese, the Karens, the Assamese, the Teloogoos, and other people of Asia — but at Liberia, in Africa; in Germany, Greece, and France, in Europe; at Hayti, in the West India Islands, and among twelve Indian tribes in the United States. The missionary society, which was organized in 1814, to recognize him and his companion as missionaries to Burmah, was now supporting twenty-three missions, embracing thirty-seven stations and thirty-two out-stations. Connected with these missions were ninety-eight American missionaries, including printers and female teachers; thirty-eight native preachers, and nearly as many native assistants, exclusive of those in the printing department; thirty-eight churches; between fifteen and sixteen hundred communicants, and from fifteen to twenty presses, which were printing the word of God in fifteen different languages.

Early in 1838, Mr. Judson was afflicted with an inflammation of the throat and lungs, which troubled him several months; and laboring under indisposition from the same cause, in the spring of 1839, he took a sea voyage, hoping thereby to receive benefit. He sailed for Calcutta, and was so much relieved before arriving there, that he made a very brief sojourn. He was doubtless too impatient to be about his Master's business at Maulmain; for, when he returned, in April, his friends could see but little improvement in his health. On hearing of his illness, the Board invited him, as they had done once or twice before, to visit the United States. The invitation reached him in August, 1839, at which time his complaint was in a relapse, and he was suffering very much. Under this circumstance, one would suppose he could have been induced to leave the field long enough to visit the land of his birth; but he declined the invitation, saying to the Board, "I cannot persuade myself that it is my duty to leave my work at present, but to wait and see whether I shall well sustain the next rainy season. If, notwithstanding continued care, I should experience a *severe* relapse, and my brethren should concur in the measure, I would avail myself of the invitation of the Board, as a last resort, and turn my face, with a clear conscience and many delightful anticipations toward my native land."

In 1838, a seminary was established at Maulmain, for educating native converts of promising talents and suitable character, for the ministry, and Rev. Edward A. Stevens, who had been appointed a missionary two years previous, took charge of it. He had been educated with direct reference to the duties of a theological teacher. Among his first pupils were a few Burman students, who had been connected with a similar institution established by Mr. Wade at Tavoy, soon after the session of the ministerial convention at Maulmain, in 1836. The school at Tavoy, which was suspended in 1837, on account of Mr. Wade's illness, contained Burmans, Karens, Peguans, and one Hindoo, in all about eighteen or twenty pupils. The one at Maulmain was designed especially for the first-mentioned class, though others were at first admitted. A distinct Karen theological seminary was subsequently established there. It was necessary to have separate schools as soon as facilities could be obtained, on account of the difference of the races above mentioned. Hence, at this period, we find, at the different and most important Burman stations, schools of various names and grades, not only for Burmans, Talings, and Karens, but also for the Eurasians or half-cast, having European fathers. In 1840, there were no less than eleven schools in operation, in connection with the Maulmain mission, which embraced six stations and three out-stations. During the early part of this year, the theological school contained ten pupils, which was about an average attendance for the first two or three years. Some idea of the kind of studies, and the method of teaching, may be gathered from a brief extract from the report of the school for the term ending in November, 1840:

"The studies pursued have been chiefly the New Testament, and a brief outline of ecclesiastical history, given in the form of lectures. In the New Testament, the class has completed the Life of Christ, having gone through the thirty-five last sections of the work, together with the Epistles of Hebrews, James, first and second of Peter, first, second, and third of John, and the Epistle of Jude. The method of study has been the same as that heretofore pursued — explanatory remarks being made, and passages of Scripture given for reference, all which are required to be committed to writing.

"The lectures on ecclesiastical history embraced a brief outline of the history of the church from the birth of Christ to the present time. The class were required to note them down as delivered, and, since the course was completed, have been occupied a part of each day in studying what they had thus written. The subject being one of novelty to them, and much time being necessarily occupied in securing a fair and correct copy of the lectures, they have *studied* the history only as far as the account of Mahomet. They seemed interested in the study, and I trust the time devoted to it has not been misapplied."

Owing to the want of funds, and other causes, this institution did not prosper so well as the missionaries had hoped it would, and was suspended from the close of the next year until 1844.

Mr. Judson completed the revision of the Burman Bible in the autumn of 1840, and the last sheet was put to press on the 24th of October. The first edition had been printed in three large octavo volumes; the second appeared in one volume quarto. In order to make the latter as correct as possible, he had consulted the latest and most reliable works of biblical critics, and selected and incorporated the richest fruits of philological minds, in Europe and America. He says, in regard to this edition:

"In the first edition of the Old Testament, I paid too much regard to the critical emendations of Lowth, Horsley, and others. In the present edition, I have adhered more strictly to the Hebrew text. In my first attempts at translating portions of the New Testament, above twenty years ago, I followed Griesbach, as all the world then did; and though, from year to year, I have found reason to distrust his authority, still, not wishing to be ever changing, I deviated but little from his text, in subsequent editions, until the last; in preparing which I have followed the text of Knapp, (though not implicitly,) as upon the whole the safest and best extant; in consequence of which, the present Burmese version of the New Testament accords more nearly with the received English.

"As to the merits of the translation, I must leave others to judge. I can only say, that though I have seldom done anything to my own satisfaction, I am better satisfied with the translation of the New Testament than I ever expected to be. The language is, I believe, simple, plain, intelligible; and I have endeavored, I hope successfully, to make every sentence a faithful representation of the original. As to the Old Testament, I am not so well satisfied. The historical books are, perhaps, done pretty well; but the poetical and prophetical books are, doubtless, susceptible of much improvement, not merely in point of style, but in the rendering of difficult passages, about which the most eminent scholars are not yet agreed.

"I commend the work, such as it is, to God, to the church in Burmah, and to my successors in this department of labor, begging them not to spare my errors, and yet not prematurely to correct a supposed error, without consulting the various authors which I have consulted, and ascertaining the reasons of my position; and especially not to adopt a plausible correction, in one instance, without inquiring whether it is admissible and advisable in all parallel and similar passages.

"In prosecuting the work, I have derived valuable aid from several of my missionary brethren, especially from brother Wade formerly, and brother Jones, now of Bangkok,— latterly from the brethren Mason, Comstock, and Stevens. Of several hundred suggestions that have been sent me from different quarters, I have sooner or later adopted by far the greater part, though in many cases with some modification. Nor ought I to forget my native brother, Moung En, my faithful fellow-laborer for many years, even before the present revision was begun,— one of our most judicious and devoted assistants."

In the early part of 1840, an important change took place at the Rangoon mission. For two or three years previous, the spirit of intolerance had strongly prevailed at times, and the churches in all parts of Burmah Proper stood in a precarious condition. In 1838, affairs between the British and Burman governments assumed a warlike aspect; and Messrs. Abbott and Simons, who were temporarily at Rangoon, left the place in November, and went to Maulmain. About a year after, the former returned in company with Mr. Kincaid, who had known the viceroy at

Ava. He was a tolerant ruler, and had invited these missionaries to Rangoon, and now urged them to remain. His virtues caused his overthrow, for he lost his office by his kind treatment of these men of God. The new viceroy was despotic, cruel, and intolerant, and soon after his arrival, Messrs. Kincaid and Abbott retired to Maulmain, leaving Burmah Proper without an American missionary. In a short time, they both went to Arracan.

The native church at Rangoon remained under the pastoral charge of Ko Thah-a, but languished on account of the absence of the missionaries. Mr. Vinton visited the station in 1842, and again in 1844. The last time, he was accompanied by Messrs. Stevens and Ingalls, the last of whom had been stationed at Mergui. They went to see what encouragement there was for missionary effort at this old original station, round which the affections of Mr. Judson and his earlier, living associates were strongly entwined. With much reluctance, they were forced to decide that it was inexpedient, just then, to attempt to reëstablish the mission.

On the 26th of June, 1841, Mr. Judson started, in ill health, on another sea voyage, taking his family with him. He first landed at Calcutta; and, proceeding to Serampore, communicated the following intelligence to the Board, from the latter place, the last of July:

"I have had a very severe trial in the sickness of my family, all of whom, with the exception of one of the children, have been prostrated for several months, and several of them repeatedly at the point of death. We came here at the urgent importunity of the doctors, and my missionary associates. The voyage had a beneficial effect on all the invalids, especially Mrs. Judson; but, since our arrival here, we have been subject to relapses, so that we despair of recovery, without some further change. In these circumstances, we regard it as a very providential mercy, that the pious captain of a vessel proceeding to the Isle of France, and thence to Maulmain, invited us to go with him in such a very kind manner as assures us that the circuitous voyage will not cost the mission more than the voyage direct. We expect to leave this in a few days, and hope to be in Maulmain by the end of October. And may God bless the double voyage before us, and the intervening residence of a few weeks at the Isle of France, to our recovery to health, that we may resume our work with renewed vigor, and devote the remnant of our spared lives to the service of Christ among Burmans. My own health is pretty good, except that my lungs have never recovered their natural soundness and strength, and I am obliged to use them with great care in public speaking. In common conversation, I have not the smallest inconvenience. And this is a great mercy, considering the state to which I was once reduced. I never realized what a great privilege it is to be able to use the voice for Christ, until I was deprived of it. And now, when I would fain break out as usual, the weakness of the flesh does not second the willingness of the spirit. I can still say, Well, it is a mercy undeserved, to be able to go thus far. And one is more willing also to be disabled when there are others ready to carry on the work. I esteem it the crowning mercy of my life, that not only the chief ends I contemplated on becoming a missionary are attained; but I am allowed to see competent, faithful, and affectionate successors actively engaged in the work. In their hands I am happy to leave it, or rather in the hands of Christ, who carried it on before we were born, and while we were in arms against him, and will carry it on more gloriously, when we repose in the grave, and in paradise. Glory be to Him alone.

"We are obliged to leave our darling youngest child, aged one year and seven months, in the mission burial ground of Serampore. His old complaint, which had never been effectually removed, came on with fearful violence, and he died in convulsions, on the 30th ultimo. The agony of witnessing the dying struggles of a beloved child, and beholding the last imploring looks, unable to afford the smallest relief, none can know but a bereaved parent. Mrs. J. and myself have frequently endured this fiery trial, and now, with bleeding hearts, we must turn away from the grave of dear Henry, and pursue our melancholy way, in hope that the life of the mother and the remaining children may yet be spared."

Mr. Judson proceeded with the surviving members of his family to the Isle of France, where he remained until the 18th of October. Writing to the Board, two or three weeks before leaving, at which time all his family but the oldest son were in comfortable health, he says: "I hope that, whatever may be the fate of some of the children, we shall be able, ere long, to return to our station, and resume our labors with renewed strength during the period that may yet be allowed us to labor on earth."

He arrived at Maulmain on the 10th of December, with his son in a convalescent state, and the rest of the family in good health.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mr. Judson commences a Burman Dictionary — Labors of his Associates — Condition of the Maulmain Mission Churches — Printing — Maulmain Missionary Society — Arrival of Messrs. Binney and Bullard — Baptismal Scene, &c. Illness of Mrs. Judson — Mr. Judson decides to visit America.

In May, 1842, Mr. Judson commenced another great literary undertaking, the preparation of a complete dictionary of the Burman language. Prior to this, besides attending to the publication of the revised edition of the Bible, and the pastoral duties of the Burman church, he had translated the Pilgrim's Progress, and performed other and scarcely lighter literary tasks. He began the dictionary with much reluctance, and after repeated invitations from the Board. The compilation which had been used since 1826, was very imperfect, and no one had felt more sensibly than he, the need of a fuller and more correct work; yet it was his wish, when he left Burmah Proper, in 1826, to avoid literary and scientific pursuits as much as possible, and devote himself directly to the preaching of the gospel. Hence, after revising the Bible, he had "resolved and re-resolved" never to touch the dictionary; but "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Providence had decreed that he should commence it; and seeing the gates of Burmah Proper barred against him and his coadjutors, and the Maulmain mission well supplied with laborers, the way at length seemed clear to make a beginning. With reference to this work, he thus writes, under date of July 13th, 1843:

"We are apt to magnify the importance of any undertaking in which we are warmly engaged. Perhaps it is from the influence of that principle, that, notwithstanding my long cherished aversion to the work, I have come to think it very important; and that, having seen the accomplishment of two objects, on which I set my heart when I first came to the East, — the establishment of a church of converted natives, and the translation of the Bible into their language,—I now beguile my daily toil with the prospect of compassing a third, which may be compared to a causeway, designed to facilitate the transmission of all knowledge, religious and scientific, from one people to the other.

"It was my first intention to make a single work, Burmese and English; but, as I proceeded, I discovered many reasons for constructing a double work, in two parts, the first Burmese and English, the second English and Burmese. I hope, by daily uninterrupted labor, to have the whole ready for the press by the end of 1845. Not, indeed, that I count on living so long. Above thirty years spent in a tropical climate, (to-day is the twenty-ninth anniversary of my arrival in Burmah,* leaves but little ground to build future plans upon. But I feel it my duty to plod on while daylight shall last, looking out for the night, and ready to bequeath both the plodding and the profit to any brother who shall be willing to carry on and complete the work, when I shall have obtained my discharge."

In the same letter, Mr. Judson apologizes to the Board for the rareness and brevity of his communications, during the years he was engaged in translating and revising the Burman Bible, and the first year of his engagement on the dictionary. The absorbing and mentally fatiguing nature of these tasks and their unfruitfulness in epistolary topics, seemed to justify his silence. He says: "I never think, without some uneasiness, of the unfrequency of my communications to the Board; and if I had not an apology at hand, I should feel self-condemned. A person employed in direct missionary work among the natives, especially if his employ is somewhat itinerant, can easily make long and interesting journals. The first epithet, at least, may be applied to some of my early communications. But it has been my lot, for many years past, to spend most of my time over the study table, and my itinerating has scarcely extended beyond the limits of my morning walks, and the precincts of the mission enclosure."

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* Professor Gammell states, that the ship which took Mr. and Mrs. Judson to Burmah, came to anchor in the harbor of Rangoon, on the 14th of the month, which day is more properly the anniversary of their arrival.

While Mr. Judson was engaged on the dictionary, and attending to his pastoral duties, his associates in the same mission, male and female, were, perhaps, equally as industrious in their several positions. Mr. Stevens had the charge of the English church at Maulmain, and also of the Pwo Karen church at Dong Yan. In his connection with the former body, he was assisted by Mr. Simons, who was conducting the Eurasian boarding school. Mr. Vinton was laboring alternately in the Sgau Karen department at Maulmain, and at the Karen stations. Mr. J. H. Chandler, a machinist, who was appointed in 1840, had charge of the printing and binding department, but was transferred to the Siam mission in 1843. Mr. Osgood managed the secular concerns of the mission, and, after the departure of Mr. Chandler, superintended the printing and binding establishment. Mr. Howard managed the Burman boarding school. Mr. Haswell was at Amherst, where he had been stationed several years, and was devoting himself principally to the Peguan people, in whose language he was translating the Scriptures. The church, of which he was pastor, contained, in 1843, between thirty and forty members. The number baptized into the seven churches connected with the Maulmain mission during the year ending July 1st, 1843, was seventy-eight. Forty-one died the same year of the cholera, which raged in several places in the empire. It was still more fatal among the

Rangoon and other Karens of Burmah Proper, of whom it is estimated that the loss amounted to five hundred. Several of these were native assistants. The number added to the Maulmain churches the following year, on a profession of faith, was one hundred and fifty-nine. During the same period, twelve were added to the Karen church at Rangoon, being baptized by Mr. Vinton while on a visit, of which we have previously spoken.

For a few years after the withdrawal of the missionaries from Burmah Proper, the urgency for printing at Maulmain was not so great as it had been, and the number of books and tracts distributed was comparatively small. The printing, in 1843, amounted to only forty-two thousand copies, and one hundred and forty-six thousand pages, though the issues were comparatively larger.* The number of books and other tracts printed the following year was five thousand; the number issued was about twenty-seven thousand. Two thousand of the copies printed in 1844 were school books; the rest were of a religious character. The whole number of pages printed at the Maulmain station prior to July, of this year was 60,890,900.

Several years previous to this time, a missionary society had been formed at Maulmain, the members being mostly connected with the English church.

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* "About one half the issues from the depository were to Maulmain, and the remainder to Amherst and the three stations in Arracan"— Ramree, Akyab, and Sandoway.

Its contributions, in 1844, amounted to between three and four thousand rupees; and its seventh annual report, being for that year, shows that twenty-five native assistants were then in its employ. They were at different stations and out-stations, among the Peguans, Burmans, Pwo Karens, and Sgau Karens. The English church was at that time in a highly prosperous condition, which is no doubt to be attributed, in part, to the liberality of its members, as exhibited above. Nothing is truer than the remark of Horace Smith, that, "by bestowing blessings on others, we entail them on ourselves."

In the spring of 1844, the Maulmain mission was reinforced by the arrival of Messrs. Joseph G. Binney and Edwin B. Bullard, and their wives.* Their designation was to the Karen department. Both gentlemen were preachers, and the former was also a teacher. The latter died at Maulmain on the 5th of April, 1847, one day less than two years after his arrival. Mrs. Bullard became the second wife of Mr. Mason, with whom she is now toiling at Tavoy.

Mr. Mason visited Maulmain in February, 1844; and his journal at that period is rich in the fruits of observation and reflection. The following extract is not wholly irrelevant to our subject:

"On Sabbath forenoon, I preached in Burman for

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* Mr. Thomas S. Ranney and wife, who are now stationed at Maulmain, entered the work of missions the same spring, at Tavoy. He is a printer.

Mr. Judson, and he baptized two very respectable Burman men at the close of worship. One of them has occasioned more noise in town than any other individual, I am told, that has ever forsaken idolatry. He is a respectable merchant; but his wife has left him and taken his property, and his friends have used every possible means in their power to prevent his being baptized. There was a great multitude at his baptism, and Mr. Judson anticipated some disturbance; but all passed off quietly. Mr. Judson rose up at the close of the sermon, as the people crowded into the chapel, and addressed them with such tact, that, whatever their intentions might have been, they were left without any pretence for making trouble. At the immersion of the first candidate, a laugh was raised by the multitude, but Mr. Judson shook his finger at them, and when the second was baptized all were as silent as the grave.

" At English worship in the evening, I saw several English officers among the despised Anabaptists, as the English call us, a sight not often seen in English congregations. Three of them, at least, appeared like brother missionaries, in everything but their red coats. One of them, the paymaster of the regiment, was baptized in the West Indies, and has turned missionary literally. He has obtained a Burman assistant that speaks a little English, and he goes out daily preaching, and reading, and distributing books and tracts. He stood talking with me for half an hour about his excursions, and evidently feels as much interest in his work as any missionary I ever saw. If he be a specimen of the West India missionaries' converts, the wisest thing they can do is to leave their enemies, as David did Shimei, 'to curse on;' and imitate their divine Master, who, when he was reviled, 'opened not his mouth.'"

In December, 1844, Mrs. Judson gave birth to her eighth child by her second husband. About this time, she was attacked with chronic diarrhœa, a disease to which she had been subject since her arrival in Burmah. She had been a great sufferer from this source, but the present seemed to be the severest attack of all. It continued to progress, in spite of medical skill and a short voyage along the Tenasserim coast; and it at length became evident that she must leave the tropics, or go directly to the grave. Such being Mr. Judson's opinion, and thinking that a long voyage might possibly be the means of her restoration, he decided to embark for his native land. His intentions were made known to the Board by the following communication, which is dated, Maulmain April 13, 1845:

"The hand of God is heavy upon me. The complaint to which Mrs. Judson is subject has become so violent, that it is the unanimous opinion of all the medical men, and, indeed, of all our friends, that nothing but a voyage beyond the tropics can possibly protract her life beyond the period of a few weeks, but that such a voyage will, in all probability, ensure her recovery. All medical skill has been exhausted. She has spent six weeks with our commissioner and his lady, in a trip down the coast, touching at Tavoy and Mergui, and returned weaker and nearer the grave than when she set out. She is willing to die, and I hope I am willing to see her die, if it be the divine will; but though my wife, it is no more than truth to say, that there is scarcely an individual foreigner now alive, who speaks and writes the Burmese tongue so acceptably as she does; and I feel that an effort ought to be made to save her life. I have long fought against the necessity of accompanying her; but she is now so desperately weak and almost helpless, that all say it would be nothing but savage inhumanity to send her off alone. The three younger children, the youngest but three months and a half old, we must leave behind us, casting them, as it were, on the waters, in the hope of finding them again after many days. The three elder, Abby Ann, Adoniram, and Elnathan, we take with us, to leave in their parents' native land. These rendings of parental ties are more severe, and wring out bitterer tears from the heart's core, than any can possibly conceive, who have never felt the wrench. But I hope I can say with truth, that I love Christ above all; and am striving in the strength of my weak faith, to gird up my mind to face and welcome all his appointments. And I am much helped to bear these trials, by the advice and encouragement of all my dear brethren and sisters of the mission.

"It is another great trial to leave my dear church and people. I never knew, till now, how much I loved them, and how much they loved me.

'And 'tis to love, our farewells owe
All their emphasis of woe.'

But I leave them in the hands of my dear brethren, and there are no persons in the world to whom I should be so willing to commit so dear a charge.

"Another great trial, not so much as it regards feeling, as it regards the anticipated result of long protracted labor, is the interruption which the heavy work of the Burmese dictionary, in which I have been engaged for two or three years, must sustain; and such is the state of my manuscripts, that if I should die before the work is completed, or at least carried forward to a much more advanced stage, all my previous labor would be nearly or quite lost. But I am endeavoring to obviate this difficulty in some degree, by taking with me my two assistants in that department, whose hearts God has graciously inclined to leave their families and accompany me. They are both christians,— the one a settled character, a convert of long standing, formerly a government writer in Rangoon; the other a nephew of the late premier of the court of Ava, a person of noble extraction, and though not a tried christian, I hope a sincere one. And it is my purpose to devote some hours every day, whether on the sea or land, to the work mentioned. I shall be induced to persevere in this purpose while in America, from the fact, that I am unable to travel about the country as an agent, and preach in the English language. The course that I have uniformly pursued, ever since I became a missionary, has been rather peculiar. In order to become an acceptable and eloquent preacher in a foreign language, I deliberately abjured my own. When I crossed the river, I burnt my ships. For thirty-two years, I have scarcely entered an English pulpit, or made a speech in that language. Whether I have pursued the wisest course, I will not contend; and how far I have attained the object aimed at, I must leave for others to say. But whether right or wrong, the course I have taken cannot be retraced. The burnt ships cannot now be reconstructed. From long desuetude, I can scarcely put three sentences together in the English language. I must, therefore, beg the Board to allow me a quiet corner, where I can pursue my work with my assistants, undisturbed and unknown.

"This request I am induced to urge, from the further consideration, that my voice, though greatly recovered from the affection of the lungs, which laid me aside from preaching nearly a year, is still so weak that it can only fill a small room; and whenever I attempt to raise it above the conversational tone, the weak place gives way, and I am quite broken down again for several weeks. I hope, therefore, that no one will try to persuade me to be guilty of such imprudence while in America; but since there are thousands of preachers in English, and only five or six Burmese preachers in the whole world, I may be allowed to hoard up the remnant of my breath and lungs, for the country where they are most needed.

"I have engaged a passage in the Paragon to London, for myself, wife, three children, and two assistants, for sixteen hundred rupees. I should have preferred a passage direct, but circumstances have rendered it impossible."

CHAPTER XX

Embarkation of the Judson Family for the United States — Hopes, and Fears, and Changes of Plans at the Isle of France — Voyage continued — Mrs. Judson's last Hours — Her Death, and Burial at St. Helena — Mr. Judson arrives in Boston — His Reception there — Dr. Sharp's Address — An Incident.

Thirty-three years had passed since the Caravan weighed anchor in the harbor of Salem, and Mr. Judson bent his course to India, when, on the 26th of April, 1845, he turned his face toward the land of his birth, which he had often thought he should see no more.

The bracing air of the Indian ocean had a happy influence on Mrs. Judson; and, on arriving at the Isle of France, she had so much improved that the two native assistants were sent back to Maulmain, Mr. Judson intending soon to follow them. His wife and the three children were to proceed, and, anticipating a separation from her husband on that "green islet," she penned those familiar and beautiful lines entitled "The Parting," concluding with the following stirring and highly poetic injunction to the hero of a thirty years' campaign, and a thousand victorious conflicts with Error, in the jungle:

"Then gird thine armor on, love,
Nor faint thou by the way,
Till Buddh shall fall, and Burmah's sons
Shall own Messiah's sway."

The vessel remained at the Isle of France three weeks, and, before the day arrived for sailing, her disease relapsed, and Mr. Judson deemed it advisable to continue with her. While doubling the Cape, she became weaker and weaker, and, before reaching St. Helena, disease had made such inroads on her constitution, that she became convinced that her end was near, and that the shores of heaven would heave in sight before she could reach her native land. And, with her hand fastened on the skies, the rolling earth* could present no scene so tempting as to cause her heart and hopes to linger below, if it were the will of God that she should *now* ascend. "She had been in the habit," says Mr. Judson, "of contemplating death as neither distant nor undesirable. As it drew near, she remained perfectly tranquil. No shade of doubt, or fear, or anxiety, ever passed over her mind. She had a prevailing preference to depart and be with Christ. 'I am longing to depart,' and 'what can I want besides?' quoting the language of a familiar hymn, were the expressions which revealed the spiritual peace and joy of her mind; yet, at times, the thought of her native land, to which she was now approaching, after an absence of twenty years, and a longing desire to see once more her son George, her parents, and the friends of her youth. drew down her ascending soul, and constrained her to say, 'I am in a strait betwixt two,—let the will of God be done.'

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* His hand the good man fastens on the skies,
And bids earth roll, nor feels her idle whirl.—YOUNG.

"In regard to her children, she ever manifested the most surprising composure and resignation, so much so, that I was once induced to say, 'You seem to have forgotten the dear little ones we have left behind.' 'Can a mother forget?'——— she replied, and was unable to proceed. During her last days she spent much time in praying for the early conversion of her children. May her living and her dying prayers draw down the blessing of God on their bereaved heads."

In the latter part of August, a few days before her death, Mr. Judson called the children to her bedside, and remarked to her, in his humble, self-abasing way, that he wished to ask pardon for all his unkind words and deeds, saying that he had failed to treat her with the kindness and affection which she had merited. To this remark, she replied, in that grateful and Christ-like spirit, which peculiarly marked her character, "O, you will kill me, if you talk so. It is I that should ask pardon of you; and I only want to get well that I may have an opportunity of making some return for all your kindness, and of showing you how much I love you."

Mr. Judson was now expecting to be under the painful necessity of consigning his beloved partner to the deep; "but it was so ordered in divine Providence," he writes, "that when the indications of approaching death had become strongly marked, the ship came to anchor in the port of St. Helena. For three days she continued to sink rapidly, though her bodily sufferings were not very severe. Her mind became liable to wander; but a single word was sufficient to recall and steady her recollections. On the evening of the 31st of August, she appeared to be drawing near to the end of her pilgrimage. The children took leave of her, and retired to rest. I sat alone by the side of her bed during the hours of the night, endeavoring to administer relief to the distressed body, and consolation to the departing soul At two o'clock in the morning, wishing to obtain one more token of recognition, I roused her attention, and said, 'Do you still love the Saviour?' 'O yes,' she replied, 'I ever love the Lord Jesus Christ.' I said again, 'Do you still love me?' She replied in the affirmative, by a peculiar expression of her own. 'Then give me one more kiss;" and we exchanged that token of love for the last time. Another hour passed,—life continued to recede,—and she ceased to breathe. For a moment, I traced her upward flight, and thought of the wonders which were opening to her view. I then closed her sightless eyes, dressed her, for the last time, in the drapery of death; and, being quite exhausted with many sleepless nights, I threw myself down and slept. On awaking in the morning, I saw the children standing and weeping around the body of their dear mother, then, for the first time, inattentive to their cries."

Her interment took place in the afternoon of the day on which she died, and the following exceedingly interesting account of it, was communicated, in the autumn of 1850, to a religious publication of Boston, by Rev. J. McGregor Bertram, a Baptist clergyman, at St. Helena. We take the liberty to slightly abridge the portion of the article transcribed, and to correct one or two errors, probably typographical:

"Early in the morning of the 1st of September, I received a note from Mr. Carrol, the American consul of that island, informing me that a ship named the Sophia Walker, had dropped anchor in our bay, the previous night, and that she had on board two distinguished passengers, Mr. Judson and lady, with their three children; but, sad to state, since that brief period, Mrs. Judson had departed this life. He further stated, that Mr. Judson sent his christian regards to me, requesting that I would come on board, as he was very desirous to see me. I had heard of Mr. Judson long before, and had learned to think of him as one of the most noble heroes of the 'cross of Christ.' With a heart full of painful sympathy, I hastened to the vessel. As the boat in which I was, neared the floating house of death, I perceived several of the crew approaching the gangway. Deep sorrow was depicted on their countenances. The captain received me with a welcome, and after a few touching hints, conducted me to the cabin, where I was, for the first time, introduced to Mr. Judson. He held out his hand; but, for a moment, his heart was too full for articulation. He looked pale and careworn. The bitter tears flowed down his cheeks in rapid succession, moistening his lips, as if seeking to find their way back again into that heart of sorrow, whence they flowed. Such a touching scene I never witnessed before. With him stood his three small children, weeping, and refusing to be comforted, because she, whom they so dearly loved, was not. Mr. Judson soon regained his self-possession. He spoke to his afflicted children in the sweetest manner, and in the most consoling language a christian father's lips could utter, and then turning to me, said,

"'O sir, she died in the Lord—so peacefully. I asked her, but a little before she died, if she loved the Saviour, and could trust her soul into his hands. She answered, 'Yes, O yes.' Come, Mr. Bertram, will you look at my love? She is just like herself, lovely, even in death.'

"He led the way into the state-room, where lay the cold remains in which once dwelt the soul of her who had given and devoted to the Saviour's cause, her life, her all. Pleasant she was, indeed, even in death. A sweet smile of love seemed to rest on her countenance, as if heavenly grace had stamped it there. Mr. Judson stood at her head, and the children around her, weeping and sobbing. He kissed her cold forehead, again and again, bedewing it with tears. After a few moments, he said, 'My love suffered much, before she died; but never murmured. Her sufferings are over. Yes, she is now in heaven. I did all for her myself; dressed, and laid her out myself. This was her own request. To me it was a painful duty; but God sustained me.'

"He then informed me that arrangements had been made for the funeral, which was to take place at four in the afternoon, and begged I would attend and conduct the religious services on board the vessel. I then left the ship and hastened on shore, to summon all my christian brethren to be in waiting on the wharf, at half past three o'clock. Returning to the vessel, I remained with Mr. Judson until afternoon. When the time for the religious service arrived, the captain called together all the friends who were on board, and all hands who could be spared from the ship. I then read a suitable portion of the divine word, and gave a brief address, I trust from the Lord a word in season, and then we all knelt in prayer to the wise Disposer of every event. When the service was ended, we again visited the solemn state-room, to take a last look of the departed wife and missionary. The bereaved husband and weeping children fastened their eyes upon the loved remains, as if they could have looked forever. Weeping, kiss after kiss was imprinted on the cold forehead. The last look was taken, the last kiss imparted, and then all was hid from mortal vision, until the morning of the resurrection. The coffin was removed to the boat, which was to convey it on shore. Other boats were connected with this, so arranged as to form a funeral procession—three going ahead, towing the one which contained the corpse, and moving forward with the heavy beatings of their oars, and another followed, in which were Mr. Judson and the three children, with the captain of the ship and myself as chief mourners. Our christian brethren and sisters were in a goodly number, with Mr. Carrol, the American consul, and his family and some other of his friends, already waiting on the shore, to join the funeral procession. The body was then transferred from the boat to the bier, which was carried by a number of seamen. The pall bearers we selected from among our christian sisters. They were four in number and chief women, viz., Mrs. Captain O'Connor, of the East India Company; Mrs. Janisch, widow of the late Dutch consul; Mrs. Torbett, of Napoleon's tomb; Mrs. Carrol, American consul's lady. Mr. Judson and myself walked first, leading one of the children; the captain next came, leading the other two; the American consul followed, with his friends; then our christian brethren and sisters, two and two; the whole numbering about one hundred persons. It is nearly half a mile from the landing to the burying ground, the way to which lies through the town. The inhabitants paid their respects by closing their shops. The street was considerably lined on either side with spectators, who all appeared to manifest a mournful sympathy with Mr. Judson and the dear children.

"On arriving at the grave, the Episcopal clergyman read the burial service of the Church of England. The body was then committed to its mother dust. Our christian brethren stood around the grave and sung a solemn hymn, selected for the occasion. During this service, as Mr. Judson stood supported by my arm, I felt his animal frame frequently ready to give way, particularly toward the last, when the coffin was about to be lowered into the grave. I could see him heaving his heart to God, for power from on high, to strengthen him. God heard his prayer, and held him up. All being now over, the christian friends began to withdraw; but Mr. Judson and the children appeared to linger, as if reluctant to leave the sacred spot. We left the remains of Mrs. Judson, in one of the choicest spots of the burying ground—a banian tree spreading its branches over it, as if to guard the precious treasure which lay interred beneath its shade.

"We then conducted Mr. Judson and the children to the house of Mr. Thomas Alesworth, which stood adjacent to the burying ground. His large parlor was filled with christian friends. A prayer meeting was held. A goodly number engaged, each and all praying God for comfort and support to his dear servant and his children, in this, their time of need. We all took tea together, and spent the remainder of the time in religious conversation, speaking much of Jesus and the resurrection. And now the time of Mr. Judson's departure drew nigh. The captain called, informing him that there was little time to spare, as the ship was to put out to sea again that evening. Mr. Judson then arose and addressed us. He spoke with feelings of the highest gratitude of the Lord's goodness unto him, in sparing him the painful task of burying the remains of his beloved wife in the restless deep; in bringing her to our island, and in giving her a christian burial, and surrounding him with so many kind friends, who had joined with him in paying the last tribute of respect to her, who to him, had proved one of the best of wives, and the most devoted mother. He said he never could have thought God had so many who loved him on the island, and that he expected, when Mrs. Judson died, to have buried her with the assistance of a few seamen and a small number of sympathizing friends. He thanked us all from his very heart, in the name of the Lord, for our christian sympathy and kindness to him and his children, praying God to reward us a thousand fold, to bless us as a christian church, and requested that we would follow him with our prayers, when on the mighty deep. He then gave Mr. Carrol and myself charge of the grave, and instructions concerning the headstone. He desired me often to give the hallowed spot, where lay the remains of his beloved wife, a friendly look, instead of himself, who would soon be far away from it; but should continue to visit it in the mournful remembrance of his spirit. We accompanied him to the ship, sorrowing with double sorrow, that we should see his face no more in the flesh. Bidding him God speed, we said the last farewell."

Mr. Judson's friends at St. Helena united with Capt. Codman, commander of the vessel, in defraying the expenses of the funeral, and pledged themselves to superintend the erection of the grave stones, which were soon afterward forwarded.

Mrs. Judson died in the forty-second year of her age, and the twenty-first of her missionary life. Few women live on the field so long, and rarely does one accomplish so much. Her talents were of a superior order, and were all given to the service of her Master. Though precocious in her mental developments, her mind gathered strength as her years advanced and her responsibilities increased; and her first great sorrow, the loss of her oldest child, in 1829, thoroughly subdued her heart, and gave a more uniformly heavenward bias to her moral affections; so that, to intellectual brilliancy was now added that sweet humility which gives one the dignity, almost, of an angel, and is the finishing stroke to human excellence. When, at the age of thirty-one, she became the wife of Mr. Judson, she stood in the front rank of living women. Possessing every qualification for a missionary, she was a fit companion for him who had learned to appreciate the strong powers of mind, the majestic sweetness of character, and the matchless, self-sacrificing fidelity of her, who, after a life of trials heroically borne, and of labors sublimely performed, went to sleep on the shore of the Indian sea.

A short time before midnight of the day on which Mrs. Judson was buried, the ship weighed anchor, spread her sails, and the man of sorrows, once more a lone widower, was on his way to the "setting sun." On the following morning, he writes, "no vestige of the island was discernable in the dim horizon. For a few days, in the solitude of my cabin, with my poor children crying around me, I could not help abandoning myself to heart-breaking sorrow. But the promises of the gospel came to my aid, and faith stretched her view to the bright world of eternal life, and anticipated a happy meeting with those beloved beings, whose bodies are mouldering at Amherst and St. Helena."

After a voyage of about six weeks from St. Helena, Mr. Judson landed in Boston, on the 15th of October; and no servant of God, it is probable, ever set his feet on these shores, whose coming caused so many bosoms to heave with high and holy emotions. His presence was like the genius of Christianity incarnate, and the tide of veneration and love rose like an ocean, heaving its sympathetic waves toward him, and experiencing no ebb while he sojourned, all too briefly, in the land. The homage that was paid, wherever he went, was of that elevated and rational character, which springs not from idolatrous admiration of the man, but from exuberant gratitude to God for the wonders He had wrought through the instrumentality of a single missionary.

In the evening of the third day after his arrival, a meeting of the friends of missions was held in the Bowdoin Square Baptist church, and the gathering on the occasion was immense, and the scene truly thrilling. True, Bolles, and Baldwin, and Staughton, and some others, with whom Mr. Judson had corresponded from the opposite side of the globe, but, with whom he could claim no personal acquaintance, had gone to heaven to welcome him *there.* Yet one venerable man was present to whom he had addressed many a communication, and who was among the foremost to welcome the pioneer missionary to the arms of the Baptists, and to pledge him their support; and that one being the President of the Board, was designated, with double propriety, to introduce the scarred veteran of a jungle warfare with darkness, to the thousands who were impatient to draw near and gaze upon his face and catch even the faintest whisper of his voice.—After appropriate preliminary services, Rev. Daniel Sharp rose, and, in behalf of the friends of christian missions, addressed Mr. Judson as follows:

"There are some feelings which are too sacred for public utterance. There are sentiments of respect and regard, which, when whispered to the ear, or spoken in the privacy of confidential intercourse, are pleasant and refreshing as the breath of spring, but which lose their fragrance in the atmosphere of a public assembly. Were I to express my own feelings toward yourself, my admiration, my confidence, my gratitude, my regard, I should say many things that in this assembly would seem out of place. I may, however, without violating christian propriety, speak in behalf of the public, in the presence of the public.

"I may say, without the semblance of flattery or adulation, the denomination have cherished a deep, and affectionate, and grateful interest in your labors; they have wondered at your steady and unfaltering perseverance; they have admired your disinterested and self-denying course; and they have tenderly sympathized with you, and prayed for you, when they heard of your personal sufferings, your imprisonment, and loss of personal liberty; and when they have heard of those greater losses to which, in the death of loved and cherished ones, you have been subjected. And they have rejoiced with you, not indeed that all your work was done, but that a glorious work was done, when, in humble prostration before the beneficent Author of revelation, you devoutly thanked Him that you had completed the translation of the holy Scriptures in the Burman language. That was a memorable day, not only in the history of your own life, but in the history of missions.

"We can only pray, dear brother, that after a still more extended and critical knowledge of the Burman language, the result of patient and laborious study and research, your life may be prolonged to revise and amend your translation of those soul-sanctifying and soul-comforting truths, which tell with wondrous power in any language in which an accurate version of them is given. Your prosecution of that other great work, to which your mind, and pen, and days are given — a Burman dictionary — at the completion of which you may well rest from your labors, will aid you greatly in giving your last correcting touch to the Burman Scriptures. Our prayer will be, in submission to God's will, that you may live until you have sent out to the world the volumes, which will not only shed their radiant light on the Scriptures, but will quicken and elevate the common mind of India.

"And now, dear brother, withdrawn as you have been, by afflictive dispensation of Providence, from your chosen and loved labors, allow me to say, in behalf of your ministerial brethren and other brethren and friends—We welcome you to your native land; we welcome you to the scenes of your early and manly youth; we welcome you to our worshiping assemblies; we welcome you to our hearts. As the representative of the ministers and private christians present, I give to you this hand of cordial welcome, of sympathy, of approbation, and of love. And I believe, could all our denomination be collected in one vast assembly, they would require and empower some one to perform this service for them, or rather each one would prefer to give this significant token of love, and respect, and good wishes, for himself. Were it possible, and could your strength hold out, and your hand bear the grasp and the cordial shake of so many, I could wish that every one who loves the Bible and missions, might be his own representative, and give to you, as I do, the hand of an honest, unchanging, and cordial good will."

The reader will recollect, that when Mr. Judson became a Baptist, Rev. Samuel Nott, who could not sympathize with him in his change of sentiment, paid a beautiful tribute to his sincerity in leaving the Congregationalists, and to his piety manifested in taking this painful step. The two parted in India, more than thirty years before this date. Mr. Nott toiled a few years as a missionary at Bombay, and was then obliged, on account of ill health, to return home. He was holding the pastoral office over the Congregational church in Wareham, Massachusetts, when Mr. Judson returned; and hearing of his arrival, hastened to Boston, reaching the city just in season to be present at this meeting. After Dr. Sharp had concluded his address, while a hymn was being sung, and before Mr. Judson had left the pulpit, Mr. Nott hurried up the aisle, made himself known to Mr. Judson, and the two embraced with a fervor of feeling rarely witnessed on the meeting of christian friends. But, with all their joys, how *faintly* such greetings typify the meetings of the ransomed and the recognizing, in the upper world!

After the dismissal of the meeting, many in the assembly crowded up the aisle, and pressed the hand of him for whose success they had often prayed, and toward whose support most of them had, doubtless, nobly contributed.

"Welcome to thee! long lapse of time
  Hath come, and glanced, and gone between,
Since thou for yonder idol clime
  A wanderer from our coasts wast seen

* * * * * * *

On these, thy native shores, to men
  Who bask in beams of living light,
Thou 'lt tell of those beyond its ken —
  Of Burmah 's millions wrapt in night.

Welcome to thee ! thou wilt not leave
  The god-like embassy undone ;
There yet are fadeless wreaths to weave,
  And lofty conquests to be won."

CHAPTER XXI.

Mr. Judson at the Meeting of the Convention in 1845 — Dr. Wayland's Address to him — Interesting Scene in the Convention — Mr. Judson's Reception at Richmond — Address of Rev. J. B. Jeter — Mr. Judson's Private Character — He marries Miss Chubbuck — Farewell Services in Boston — Mr. Judson's Address.

A special meeting of the Convention was held in November, 1845, in the Baptist Tabernacle, New York. Mr. Judson was present,* and the following resolutions, offered by Rev. Spencer H. Cone, were adopted with the utmost cordiality and unanimity:

"Resolved, That this convention regard, as a special occasion of gratitude to the God of all grace, that he has so long preserved the life of our senior missionary, Rev. Adoniram Judson, and has strengthened him to perform services of inestimable value for the perishing heathen.

"Resolved, That the President be requested to express to our brother Judson assurances of the pleasure with which we welcome him to his native land, and our heartfelt sympathy with him in the painful circumstances which have withdrawn him, as we hope only for a season, from the field of his missionary labors."

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* Messrs. Kincaid and Abbott were also in this country, and participated in the discussions in this meeting of the Convention.

After their adoption, Dr. Cone took Mr. Judson by the hand, and introduced him to the President, Dr. Wayland, in these words: "I present you '*Jesus Christ's man.*'" The President then addressed Mr. Judson as follows:

"It is with no ordinary feelings, my beloved brother, that I rise to discharge the duty imposed upon me, by the resolution which you have this moment heard. My own heart assures me that language is inadequate to express the sentiments of your brethren on the present occasion.

"Thirty-three years since, you, and a few other servants of the Most High God, relying simply upon his promises, left your native land, to carry the message of Christ to the heathen. You were the first offering of the American churches to the Gentiles. You went forth amid the sneers of the thoughtless, and with only the cold and reluctant consent of your brethren. The general voice declared your undertaking to be fanatical, and those who cowered under its rebuke, drew back from you in alarm. On the voyage, your views respecting christian ordinances became changed, and this change gave rise to the formation of the convention now in session before you.

"When at length you arrived in India, more formidable obstacles than those arising from paganism, were thrown in your path. The mightiest empire that the world has ever seen, forbade every attempt to preach Christ to the countless millions subjected to her sway, and ordered you peremptorily from her shores. Escaping from her power, you took refuge in the Isle of France, and at last, after many perils, arrived at Rangoon, where, out of the reach of christian power, you were permitted to enter upon your labors of love.

"After years of toil, you were able to preach Christ to the Burmans, and men began to inquire after the eternal God. The intolerance of the government then became apparent, and you proceeded to Ava, to plead the cause of toleration before the emperor. Your second attempt was successful, and permission was granted to preach the gospel in the capital itself. But how inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Your labors had but just commenced, when a British army took possession of Rangoon, and you and your fellow-laborer, the late Dr. Price, were cast into a loathsome dungeon and loaded with chains. For nearly two years, you suffered all that barbarian cruelty could inflict, and to the special interposition of God alone, it is to be ascribed, that your imprisonment was not terminated by a violent death. On you, more than any other missionary of modern times, has been conferred the distinction of suffering for Christ. Your limbs have been galled with fetters, and you have tracked with bleeding feet the burning sands between Ava and Amarapura. With the apostle of the Gentiles you may say, 'Henceforth let no man trouble me — I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.' Yet even here God did not leave you comfortless. He had provided an angel to minister to your wants, and when her errand was accomplished, took her to himself, and the Hopia tree marks the spot whence her spirit ascended. From prison and from chains, God in his own time delivered you, and made your assistance of special importance in negotiating a treaty of peace between those two nations, one of whom had driven you from her shores, and the other had inflicted upon you every cruelty but death.

"Since this period, the prime of your life has been spent in laboring to bless the people who had so barbarously persecuted you. Almost all the christian literature in their language has proceeded from your pen; your own hand has given to a nation the oracles of God, and opened to the millions now living, and to those who shall come after them to the end of time, the door of everlasting life. That mysterious Providence which shut you out from Burmah Proper, has introduced you to the Karens, a people who seem to have preserved, from remote antiquity, the knowledge of the true God, and who were waiting to receive the message of his Son. To them you, and those who have followed in your footsteps, have made known the Saviour of the world, and they, by thousands, have flocked to the standard of the cross.

"After years of unremitted toil, the Providence of God has brought you to be present with us at this important crisis. We sympathize with you in all the sorrows of your painful voyage. May God sustain you in your sore bereavement, and cause even this mysterious dispensation to work out for you a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

"How changed is the moral aspect of the world since you first entered upon your labors. Then, no pagan nation had heard the name of Christ from American lips; at present, churches of Christ planted by American benevolence, are springing up in almost every heathen nation. The shores of the Mediterranean, the islands of the sea, the thronged cities, and the wild jungles of India, are resounding with the high praises of God, in strains first taught by American missionaries. The nation that drove you from her shores, has learned to foster the messenger of the cross with parental solicitude. You return to your native land, whence you were suffered to depart almost without her blessing, and you find that the missionary enterprise has kindled a flame that can never be quenched in the heart of the universal church, and that every christian and every philanthropist comes forward to tender to you the homage due to the man through whose sufferings, labors, and example these changes have, to so great a degree, been effected. In behalf of our brethren, in behalf of the whole church of Christ, we welcome you back to the land of your fathers. God grant that your life may long be preserved, and that what you have seen may prove to be but the beginning of blessing to our churches at home, and to the heathen abroad."

Mr. Judson had been forbidden by his medical advisers, to speak in public, and, in reply to Dr. Wayland, merely expressed his thanks for the uniform and marked expressions of respect and kindness with which he had been received since his arrival in his native land, and hoped that these things would tend to humble him and make him more assiduous in the discharge of his duties to the benighted.

On the twenty-first, the third day of the Convention, a report was presented, suggesting that possibly Arracan would have to be abandoned, when Mr. Judson rose, and, in a voice audible in all parts of the house, said, in substance : "Though forbidden by physicians to speak, I must say a few words. I must protest against the abandonment of the Arracan mission." He then presented his reasons for the mission's continuance ; but in so low a voice, that Dr. Cone was obliged to repeat his words to the assembly. He concluded by saying, "If the Convention think my services can be dispensed with, in finishing the dictionary, I will go immediately to Arracan; or, if God should spare my life to finish my dictionary, I will go there afterward, and labor there, and *die* there, and *be buried there!*"

The thrilling remarks of Mr. Judson, together with others in a similar spirit made by Messrs. Abbott, Kincaid, and two or three other gentlemen, drew out the following resolution, which was offered by Rev. William R. Williams, and unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That, in the indications of divine Providence, as presented by the remarkable harmony and the reviving hopes of the brethren here met, and the flowing together of all hearts in the baptism of one spirit, this Convention find themselves compelled to abandon, for the present at least, all thought of abandoning or abridging their missionary stations; and that our Heavenly Father is summoning us to reinforce, and even to enlarge our operations, in fuller accordance with the greatness of his promises and of the world's necessities."

Receptions similar to those in Boston and New York, were given Mr. Judson in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, and several other places; but the plan of this work would not admit of their details. The one at the last mentioned place, however, was of so important a character, and the sentiment of so many minds was expressed, that we can not pass over it. The gathering at Richmond, February 8th, 1846, was a mass missionary meeting of members of "The Southern Missionary Convention," which came into existence in 1845, and owed its origin to a disagreement of sentiment between Baptists of the North and South, on the question of slavery. The Acting Board, after some correspondence with the Alabama State Convention, and in reply to a question of that body, declared that "if any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and should insist on retaining them as his property, they could not appoint him." This declaration caused the separate organization at the South, and that step occasioned the special meeting at the Baptist Tabernacle, and the change of the name of the General Convention to that of the "American Baptist Missionary Union." Each organization, it is proper to add, has since been engaged in prosecuting the work of missions in its chosen field, in the most peaceful manner, so far as home relations are concerned, and with gratifying success.

Rev. J. B. Jeter, being president of the Southern Board, welcomed Mr. Judson as follows:

"Mr. Judson — I address you on behalf of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in Richmond, and, I may add, of the whole Baptist denomination in the South. The service is at once pleasing and painful; pleasing, because we had scarcely expected to enjoy the privilege of seeing your face and grasping your hand — painful, because your want of voice prevents you from imparting to us the instruction and encouragement which you are well qualified to communicate; and the brevity of your visit will make the pain of separation almost equal to the pleasure of meeting.

"I seize the present opportunity to present a few remarks; and I do it the more readily, as the state of your health does not permit us to expect many from yourself.

"It is interesting to stand at the head-spring of a great river, which, traversing a continent, spreads through kingdoms fertility, and all the blessings of commerce. The position awakens emotions of sublimity. It can not be less interesting and inspiring to contemplate events which, in themselves seemingly unimportant, have produced momentous results. To such an event, our attention is drawn by your presence.

"When you and your honored associates, Nott, Mills, and Newell, presented to the General Association of Congregationalists in Massachusetts, assembled at Bradford in 1810, a paper expressing your desire to engage in the work of foreign missions, and asking their advice and aid, who could have anticipated the result of the application? At that time the churches were slumbering profoundly on the subject of missions; there were no missionary societies, no plans matured for conducting missions, and no funds collected for the support of missionaries.

"The application originated the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A noble institution it is — superior to any in our own land, and vying in the wisdom of its measures and the success of its efforts, with the best-ordered and most renowned missionary organizations of the old world. Its annual expenditure is not far, if at all, short of one-third of a million of dollars; and its mission stations have dotted almost the whole extent of heathendom.

"Under the patronage of this Board, after considerable hesitation and delay on their part, you embarked, with your companion, and revered associates, in 1812, for the East. On your arrival there, an event occurred deeply affecting your own course, and the cause of missions. You, Mrs. Judson, and the lamented Rice, became Baptists. Whatever may be said or thought of the change, your sincerity in making it cannot be reasonably called in question. You abandoned a christian denomination, wealthy — with whose members you were intimately acquainted — to whom you were tenderly attached, and from whom you expected a liberal support, and connected yourself with one comparatively poor — to whose members you were a stranger, and from whom you had no prospect of receiving assistance. The hand of God was in it. The change was the means of arousing, among the Baptists of the United States, the missionary spirit, and forming the Baptist Triennial Convention, under whose patronage you have so long labored.

"By a remarkable train of events, among which was the breaking out of the war between this country and Great Britain — you were led, or rather driven into Burmah. God had selected that field for you, and designed that you should accomplish a great work there.

I pass over the story of your toils and sufferings, your chains and imprisonment, and the almost superhuman fortitude of your now sainted companion. It is familiar to every American, and, indeed, every christian reader. It forms an essential and thrilling chapter in the history of missions.

"And now, my brother, to say nothing of what has been effected by the missionaries of the Baptist Triennial Convention, among the aborigines of America, in France, in Germany, in Denmark, in Greece, in Africa, in China, in Siam, in Hindostan, in Assam, behold, what a change God hath wrought in Burmah, and in the contiguous provinces! The Bible has been translated in the Burman language, carefully revised, printed, put into circulation, and read by thousands! We watched with intense interest the progress of the translation. We prayed that your life might be spared to complete it We saw you when, having finished the last leaf of the precious volume, you took it in your hand, and bowing beside your desk, gave thanks to God that he had enabled you to accomplish the work. To that thanksgiving we subjoined our hearty amen! In that land, so recently enveloped in the darkness of heathenism, churches have been founded, to worship the name, and keep the ordinances of Jesus. Native preachers have been raised up to proclaim in their own tongue, and among their own countrymen, 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' The Karens, a simple-hearted and singular people, are turning by hundreds and thousands to the Lord. Among them, the gospel has had a success rarely equaled since the days of the apostles. On Burmah, 'the morning light is breaking.' The time to favor her has fully come.

"We cannot penetrate futurity. I pretend not to be skilled in prophetic interpretation. But in the next half century, we may anticipate great accessions to christianity. We found our hope on past success. Wherever the gospel has been preached, plainly and faithfully, from the equator to the poles, among civilized or savage men, it has been the "power of God unto salvation." The success of the missionary enterprise, has everywhere corresponded, in a remarkable manner, with the measures of ability, zeal, and diligence employed in its prosecution. We base our expectation on the increasing prevalence of the missionary spirit. When, more than half a century ago, the work of foreign missions commenced among the Anglo-Saxon christians, led on by the immortal Carey, it was predicted that its advocates would soon grow weary, and relax their efforts. The prediction has not been fulfilled. At no previous period has it been so much the settled policy and purpose of the churches, to make efforts and sacrifices in the work of evangelizing the world, as it is now. And, above all, we found our hope on the divine promises. Unless we have misconceived their import, they point to a time of greater light, purity, and triumph in the church, than the world has yet seen. This sin-darkened earth is to be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God. From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, the name of Christ shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto His name, and a pure offering.

"Henceforth, my brother, you and we shall labor in connection with different Boards. Events which neither you nor we could control, produced the separation; and God, we trust, will overrule it for good. One thing is certain: the southern Baptists have no thought of abandoning the missionary field. We are buckling on our armor, and marshaling our hosts for a fiercer onset on the powers of darkness than we have yet made. We have selected China as our battle-field — a vast, interesting, and inviting field it is. It contains one-half, if not two-thirds of the heathen population of the globe. The wall, which, for centuries, presented an insuperable barrier to the introduction of Christianity, has recently been leveled with the dust, and the banner of the cross now floats in triumph in Canton.

"But I must close my remarks. Brother Judson, we are acquainted with your history. We have marked your labors — have sympathized in your various sufferings — have shed many a tear at the foot of the 'Hopia-tree,"— have gone, in fancy, on mournful pilgrimage to the rocky island of St. Helena — have rejoiced in your successes, and the successes of your devoted associates — and have long and fervently wished to see your face in the flesh. This privilege we now enjoy. Welcome, thrice welcome, are you, my brother, to our city — our churches — our bosoms. I speak as the representative of southern Baptists. We love you for the truth's sake, and for your labors in the cause of Christ. We honor you as the father of American missions.

" One thought pains us. To-morrow morning you leave us. We shall see your face no more. You will soon return to Burmah, the land of your adoption. There you will continue your toils, and there, probably, be buried. But this separation is not without its solace. Thank God! it is as near from Burmah to heaven, as from Richmond, or any other point on the globe. Angels, oft commissioned to convey to heaven the departing spirits of pious Burmans and Karens, have learned the way to that dark land. When dismissed from your toils and sufferings, they will be in readiness to perform the same service for you. God grant that we may all meet in that bright world. There sin shall no more annoy us, separations no more pain us, and every power find full and sweet employ in the service of Christ!

"And now, my brother, I give my hand in token of affection to you, and of your cordial reception among us."

The visit of Mr. Judson to this country brought him in contact with his warmest friends, and revealed to them beautiful traits of his character, for which they would, otherwise, probably never have given him full credit. He had heretofore been seen at a distance, and only in his public capacity; now he was viewed with all the microscopic advantages of domestic intercourse; and the graces of child-like simplicity, confidence, sympathy, and affection, bound him still closer to the hearts of those who had long been accustomed to contemplate and admire the mountain majesty and sternness of his missionary life. "His heart," writes Dr. Hague, whose intercourse with him was intimate, "was a well-spring of tender affections, his eye took within its scope the whole wide range of human relationships, and he was sensitively alive to the happiness of all around him. In this respect, he resembled his divine Master, who, while on earth, although he was employed in a mission that involved the eternal destinies of a fallen race, could find congenial joys in the friendship of Martha, Mary, and Lazarus, and who, amidst the agonies of the cross, could commend the temporal welfare of his mother to 'that disciple whom he loved.'

"The soul," the same writer adds, "reveals itself not only in words, but in the tones of the voice, in the animated countenance, in the kindling eye, in every feature, in every movement. Although it may not be safe to judge of men by the outward appearance merely, yet there are signs of character which are seldom mistaken, which no art can counterfeit, and which make impressions that we can neither resist nor erase. And no one, probably, has been permitted to enjoy Mr. Judson's society, and especially to kneel with him while conducting the worship of a family, who has not left his presence with some new conviction of the depth of his piety, of the breadth of his philanthropy, of his child-like humility as a christian, and of his real greatness as a man."

While in this country, Mr. Judson was desirous of securing the services of some one to write the memoirs of his second wife, and was directed to Miss Emily Chubbuck, of Utica, New York. She had written three or four valuable Sabbath-school books, and gained a high reputation in the field of periodical literature. The acquaintance which Mr. Judson formed with her, resulted in their union, which took place on the 2d of June, 1846.

On the last day of the same month, the farewell services, preparatory to their departure for Burmah, were performed in the Baldwin Place Baptist church, of Boston. The exercises preliminary to Mr. Judson's address were conducted by Rev. Messrs. R. H. Neale, H. J. Ripley, and Baron Stow. After the last mentioned gentleman had delivered an eloquent address to the Judsons, and other missionaries, who were to accompany them, Mr. Judson spoke as follows:

"My friends are aware, that it is quite impossible for me, without serious injury to myself, to sustain my voice at such a height as to reach this large assembly, except for a few sentences. I have therefore taken the liberty of putting some thoughts on paper, which Rev. Mr. Hague will do me the honor of reading to you.

"I wish, however, in my own voice, to praise God for the deep interest, in the cause of missions, manifested by the friends of the Redeemer in this city and the vicinity, and to thank them for all their expressions and acts of kindness toward me, during my brief sojourn among them. I regret that circumstances have prevented my spending more time in this city, and of forming a more intimate acquaintance with those, whom a slight acquaintance has taught me so much to love.

"It is as certain as any future event can be, that I shall never again revisit the shores of my native land; that, after a few days, your beautiful city, this great and glorious country, will be forever shut from my view. No more shall I enter your places of worship; no more shall I behold your faces, and exchange the affectionate salutations of christian love.

"The greatest favor we can bestow on our absent friends, is to bear them on our hearts at the throne of grace. I pray you, dear friends, remember me there,—and my missionary associates, and our infant churches, and the poor heathen among whom we go to live. And though we do meet no more on earth, I trust that our next meeting will be in that blessed world, where 'the loved and the parted here below, meet ne'er to part again.'"

These words, which were uttered with deep emotion, were distinctly heard by all the assembly. The modestly termed "thoughts," to which he referred, and which were read by the gentleman designated, are as follows:

"There are periods in the lives of men, who experience much change of scene and variety of adventure, when they seem to themselves to be subject to some supernatural illusion, or wild, magical dream; when they are ready, amid the whirl of conflicting recollections, to doubt their own personal identity,—and, like steersmen in a storm, feel that they must keep a steady eye to the compass, and a strong arm at the wheel. The scene spread out before me, seems, on retrospection, to be identified with the past, and, at the same time, to be reaching forward and foreshadowing the future. At one moment, the lapse of thirty-four years is annihilated; the scenes of 1812 are again present; and this assembly—how like that which commended me to God, on first leaving my native shores for the distant East. But, as I look around, where are the well-known faces of Spring, and Worcester, and Dwight? Where are Lyman, and Huntington, and Griffin? And where are those leaders of the baptized ranks, who stretched out their arms across the water, and received me into their communion? Where are Baldwin and Bolles? where Holcombe, and Rogers, and Staughton? I see them not. I have been to their temples of worship, but their voices have passed away. And where are my early missionary associates—Newell, and Hall, and Rice, and Richards, and Mills? But why inquire for those so ancient? Where are the succeeding laborers in the missionary field for many years; and the intervening generation, who sustained the missions? And where are those who moved amid the dark scenes of Rangoon, and Ava, and Tavoy? Where those gentle, yet firm spirits, which tenanted forms,—delicate in structure, but careless of the storm — now broken, and scattered, and strewn, like the leaves of autumn, under the shadow of overhanging trees, and on remote islands of the sea.

"No; these are not the scenes of 1812, nor is this the assembly that convened in the Tabernacle of a neighboring city. Many years *have* elapsed; many venerated, many beloved ones *have* passed away to be seen no more. 'They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' And with what words shall I address those who have taken their places, the successors of the venerated and the beloved — the generation of 1812?

"In that year, American christians pledged themselves to the work of evangelizing the world. They had but little to rest on except the command and promise of God. The attempts then made by British christians had not been attended with so much success, as to establish the practicability, or vindicate the wisdom of the missionary enterprise. For many years, the work advanced but slowly. One denomination after another embarked in the undertaking; and now American missionaries are seen in almost every land and every clime. Many languages have been acquired; many translations of the Bible have been made; the gospel has been extensively preached; and churches have been established containing thousands of sincere, intelligent converts. The obligation, therefore, on the present generation, to redeem the pledge given by their fathers is greatly enhanced. And it is an animating consideration, that with the enhancement of the obligation, the encouragement to persevere in the work, and to make still greater efforts, are increasing from year to year. Judging from the past, what may we rationally expect, during the lapse of another thirty or forty years? Look forward with the eye of faith. See the missionary spirit universally diffused, and in active operation throughout this country,—every church sustaining, not only its own minister, but, through some general organization, its own missionary in a foreign land. See the Bible faithfully translated into all languages,—the rays of the lamp of heaven transmitted through every medium, and illuminating all lands. See the Sabbath spreading its holy calm over the face of the earth,—the churches of Zion assembling, and the praises of Jesus resounding from shore to shore; and, though the great majority may still remain, as now in this christian country, without hope and without God in this world, yet the barriers in the way of the descent and operation of the Holy Spirit removed, so that revivals of religion become more constant and more powerful.

"The world is yet in its infancy; the gracious designs of God are yet hardly developed. Glorious things are spoken of Zion, the city of our God. She is yet to triumph, and become the joy and glory of the whole earth. Blessed be God, that we live in these latter times—the latter times of the reign of darkness and imposture. Great is our privilege, precious our opportunity, to coöperate with the Saviour in the blessed work of enlarging and establishing his kingdom throughout the world. Most precious the opportunity of becoming wise, in turning many to righteousness, and of shining, at last, as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars, forever and ever.

" Let us not, then, regret the loss of those who have gone before us, and are waiting to welcome us home, nor shrink from the summons that must call us thither. Let us only resolve to follow them who through faith and patience inherit the promises. Let us so employ the remnant of life, and so pass away, as that our successors will say of us, as we of our predecessors, ' Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' "

CHAPTER XXII.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson embark for Burmah — Messrs. Beecher and Harris, and Miss Lillybridge accompany them — Changes at Maulmain — Growth of the Churches there — Mr. and Mrs. Judson repair to Rangoon — State of Civil and Religious Matters in Burmah Proper — Return to Maulmain — Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Moore — Newton and Maulmain Stations.

The time had now arrived for Mr. Judson's departure. He had visited his natal home, and experienced the resurrection of buried memories; he had stood and wept within the old Tabernacle, at Salem, where, thirty-four years before, he had been ordained to a work which has no rival in moral grandeur, and in which God had, through him, honored the christian name; and he had traversed his native land, and been received, in many places, with an enthusiasm truly inspiring, and far more noble than that ever excited by the return of any victorious warrior that ever rallied his hosts around the eagles of Rome: but nothing could tempt him to tarry on these shores. The faintest whisper of duty was sweeter than the thunders of human applause,— and, heard over all, beckoned him away.

On the 11th of July, 1846, he who went down to the Caravan, in 1812, silently and almost alone, keeping time to the solemn beat of his own uncheered heart, was accompanied to the ship Faneuil Hall, which lay at anchor in the harbor of Boston, by a band of sympathizing friends, and was greeted at the dock by hundreds, some of whom had stood there for hours, in the burning sun, to catch another and the last look of the eloquent apostle, whose inspired rhetoric, winging the arrows of truth, and, resounding through the jungle, had, by the help of the Spirit, lain many a champion of Gaudama prostrate at the feet of Jesus. A prayer is offered; a hymn is sung; the ship weighs anchor, and a fresh breeze, the favoring breath of heaven, bears the venerated soldier of the cross from the sight of his weeping friends.

In company with Mr. and Mrs. Judson, were Rev. Messrs. John S. Beecher and Norman Harris, their wives, and Miss Lydia Lillybridge, they having been previously set apart to the work of missions. Mr. and Mrs. Beecher were bound to Arracan; the rest to Maulmain. Miss Lillybridge was to labor with Mr. and Mrs. Judson in the Burman department; Mr. and Mrs. Harris in the Karen. They all arrived at Maulmain on the 5th of December.

During Mr. Judson's absence an infant son had died, and some other changes had taken place. Mr. and Mrs. Osgood had withdrawn from the mission on account of ill health;* Mr. Simons had temporarily left, on a visit to this country; and Mr. Stilson had removed to Maulmain from Akyab to take Mr. Osgood's place as mission treasurer. The last gentleman was assisting Mr. Stevens in the Burman theological school, and also in the pastoral care of the Burman church, which had devolved on Mr. Stevens, in the absence of Mr. Judson. Mr. Ranney was there, acting as depositary, as well as printer.

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* The latter, who was the second wife of Mr. Osgood, died at Wyoming, New York, July 13th, 1849. When married to Mr. Osgood, she was the widow of Rev. Jacob Thomas, who was killed by the fall of a tree, on his way up the Brahmaputra, to Assam.

The churches connected with the Maulmain mission — twenty-six in number, including those of Rangoon and Bassein — had been, as a whole, highly favored during Mr. Judson's absence. The thirty-third annual report of the Missionary Union, being for May, 1847, records fourteen hundred baptisms as the fruit of the previous year's efforts.* The number of communicants in these churches had swelled to four thousand and eight hundred, and embraced about half of the whole number, connected with the one hundred and eight or ten churches belonging to the sixteen missions then supported by the Union.

While Mr. Judson was in this country, the ambitious and sanguinary emperor, Tharawaddy, who had usurped the throne nine or ten years before, was driven therefrom by his own ministers; and Mr. Judson repaired to Rangoon shortly after reaching Maulmain, in order to ascertain the feelings of the new government toward the christian religion. He discovered that the king was far from being indifferent to the influence of foreigners; but, thinking that possibly a footing might once more be obtained in the empire, he returned to Maulmain for Mrs. Judson, whom he removed to his original home in the empire, in February.

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* Most of these were Karens. During the last half of the year 1846, something like one thousand were added to the Karen churches, in the Rangoon region.

Rangoon was now the only city in Burmah Proper, in which foreigners were permitted to reside; and the state of things there, religious and political, is presented in the following communication, dated March 28, 1847:

"I have just returned from baptizing a Burman convert, in the same tank of water where I baptized the first Burman convert, Moung Nau, twenty-eight years ago. It is now twenty-five years since I administered baptism in Rangoon, the few converts that have been made during that period being generally baptized by the native pastor. My time has been mostly spent in Maulmain, where, having been instrumental, with others, of raising up a few Burmese and Karen churches, I have left them, since my return from America, in the care of my dear and excellent missionary brethren, and am now making a small attempt once more in Burmah Proper.

"The attempt, however, is made under very discouraging circumstances. The present administration of government, though rather more friendly to foreigners, is more rigidly intolerant than that of the late king Tharawaddy. Any known attempt at proselyting would be instantly amenable at the criminal tribunal, and would probably be punished by the imprisonment or death of the proselyte, and the banishment of the missionary. The governor of this place has received me favorably, not as a missionary, (though he well knows, from old acquaintance, that that is my character,) but as a minister of a foreign religion, ministering to foreigners resident in the place, and a dictionary maker, 'laboring to promote the welfare of both countries.' Our missionary efforts, therefore, being conducted in private, must necessarily be very limited. It is, however, a precious privilege to be allowed to welcome into a private room a small company, perhaps two or three individuals only, and pour the light of truth into their immortal souls — souls, that, but for the efficacy of that light, would be covered with the gloom of darkness — darkness to be felt to all eternity.

"Another discouraging circumstance is the very low state of the Burman church in this place. There are about twenty nominal members still surviving; but they are much scattered, and not half of them appear to be living members. I have, therefore, been making an attempt to reorganize the church, and have found four individuals who have united with myself and wife in renewing our church covenant, and establishing a new church. We have, this day, received one new member, and we hope to find a few more of the old members, who will come up to our standard."

Further extracts from his communications while at Rangoon, will show the disposition of "the heathen" to "rage," and the infeasibility of effecting, just then, the reëstablishment of the missions at Rangoon and Ava:

"May 20, 1847.—This is the first Lord's day on which I have had no regular worship. A private order of government was issued day before yesterday, to have the house I occupy watched by police officers, in order to apprehend any who might be liable to the charge of favoring "Jesus Christ's religion." Seasonable information was communicated to me and the disciples, by friends at court, so that they have all escaped for the present. None came near me, except two from the country; and with them, I had a very interesting and affecting time, in a private room; and they got off undiscovered. Four Karen lads, who had been waiting for a passage to Maulmain, decamped before light this morning, for their native jungle.

"The vice-governor of the place, who, indeed, is the acting governor at present, is the most ferocious, blood-thirsty monster, I have ever known in Burmah. It is said that his house and court-yard resound, day and night, with the screams of people under torture. Even foreigners are not beyond his grasp. He lately wreaked his rage on some Armenians and Mussulmen; and one of the latter class died in the hands of a subordinate officer. His crime was quite a venial one; but, in order to extort money, he was tortured so barbarously that the blood streamed from his mouth, and he was dead in an hour.

"I am afraid, that, while the present monster is in power, I shall not be able to convene the disciples for worship, as hitherto. He is, however, only acting on the orders which are understood to be in force all over the country, proscriptive of the christian religion. I feel the blow most deeply, for I had just succeeded in reorganizing a little church, out of old materials and some lately baptized, amounting in number to eleven, nearly all purely Burmese; and last Sunday I had an assembly of above twenty. Several new ones were expected to-day; and two would probably have been baptized. I had become so attached to the little church and assembly, and so glad, on every returning Lord's day, to lay aside my tedious dictionary labors, and spend all the day in obtaining and communicating spiritual refreshment, that the present interruption seems almost too hard to bear. However, I hope to do something yet, in private, to aid a few perishing souls, who are struggling through darkness and terror, to find a way of escape from the more dread darkness and terror of eternal death. But everything must be done in private. Not even a tract can be given publicly. That point I ascertained a few years ago, on a visit to the place, which, I believe, I never mentioned in writing home. In order to test the real extent and efficacy of the king's order, prohibiting the distribution of books at Ava, I opened a box of tracts in the front part of the house where I was a guest for a few days. The people took them greedily; but in less than an hour, my assistant, Ko En, was arrested and placed in confinement. It cost me a great deal to get him free; and when he was released, it was on condition that he would give no more tracts. This time, therefore, I brought no tracts for distribution, and have confined myself to private conversation, except convening an assembly for worship,—and that in an 'upper room,'—every Lord's day.

"June 6. Lord's day.—No formal worship; but a fine young man, whom we had concluded to receive into the church, son of one of the oldest converts, spent the day with me, in company with two or three others; and just at night we repaired to the remote side of the old baptizing place, and, under cover of the bushes, perpetrated a deed, which, I trust, our enemies will not be able to gainsay or invalidate, to all eternity.

"8.—Yesterday morning, the young man, on returning to his residence, a few miles distant, met his father under arrest, in the hands of the myrmidons of government, on their way to the court of the governor—not, I was glad to learn, the ferocious vice-governor above mentioned. One of the converts ran to give me notice; and for two or three hours I sat expecting the worst. But the blow was averted, as suddenly as it was aimed. 'What have you brought the man before me for?' said the officer. 'To be examined on a charge of heresy and frequenting the house of Jesus Christ's teacher,' said the leading accuser. 'On what authority?' 'Here is your written order.' 'What—who—I have given no order. It must be one of my petty clerks. It is all a mistake. Go about your business.' 'I thought it strange,' rallied the arrested, 'that you should summon me on a charge of heresy, as it is well known that I worship the true God.' 'God,' said the officer, rather nettled, 'worship any God you like'—'or the devil,' promptly added a virago, sitting on an official cushion, at his side,—'if you villagers just pay your taxes, what more do we want of you?'

"As near as we can ascertain the truth of this strange affair, the officer, after sending off the order early in the morning, not entertaining the least doubt that the measure would be approved, as the religion of Jesus Christ is understood to be universally proscribed, stepped, however, into the government house and reported what he had done; and the governor, remembering his pledge to me on my first arrival, quashed the proceedings. Thanks be to God.

"And this is not the first favor he has done me, as I have just learned by a very private confidential communication from a sworn employee of government, a friend of mine, though not of the cause. A few days since, one of the highest members of government, represented to his excellency, that two or three years ago, under the administration of his predecessors, three of these heretical teachers, (he meant brethren Ingalls, Stevens, and Vinton,) came from Maulmain, with the intention of effecting a settlement in the empire; that he mentioned their arrival to the then governor, who left their disposal entirely in his hands, on which he ordered them out of the country; and that the said teachers then pretended they had not come to stay, and immediately took their departure. On hearing this, the governor kept his head bent over his breakfast, and made no reply. And the officer, feeling that he had not sufficient encouragement to bring forward my case, withdrew to wait for a more convenient season. But the term of this governor's rule is drawing to a close; and it is expected by many, that he will be succeeded by the ferocious vice-governor.

"13. Lord's day.—Not an individual ventures to come near me. I am advised to make friends with the vice-governor, by whose orders the house is watched, and whose authority is now paramount to that of the governor, a weak old man, who suffers himself to be set at defiance; but I think that an attempt of that sort would but expose the cause to greater danger.

"I am persuaded, as I have been for years past, that the only way to keep footing in Rangoon, is to obtain some countenance at Ava. My principal object in coming hither was to ascertain the practicability and probable advantage of proceeding to the capital. The present governor has given his permission, and the season favorable for going up the river is not far distant. But at the approaching crisis, I find myself destitute of the requisite means. The Board have approved the measure, but have not been able to accompany their approval with the needful remittance. On the contrary, I learn from my last letters from Maulmain, that the annual appropriation for the Burman mission, is ten thousand rupees less than the current expenses require! The brethren have been obliged to retrench in every department, instead of being able to make an appropriation for a new enterprise. My extra expense in Rangoon, for assistants and house rent, is eighty six rupees a month, and they have been able to allow me seventeen and a half only! The mission secretary writes me, that for anything beyond that sum, I must look, not to their treasury, but to the Board. Instead, therefore, of entering on a new and expensive undertaking, I find myself unable to remain in Rangoon. But no; I might hope that an appeal home would provide means for remaining here; but in present circumstances, unable to remain, to any advantage, without making friends at Ava, and having no hope that the Board will be able to commence a new station, or even sustain the old ones much longer, there remains nothing for me but to fall back upon Maulmain."

With some of his most cherished hopes withering, Mr. Judson returned to Maulmain, in September, and resumed his labors on the dictionary. Writing on the 19th of the same month, he says:

"I remained in Rangoon long enough to witness the removal of my friend, the governor, and the downfall of the ferocious vice-governor, who had become the terror of all classes, and particularly distinguished himself by carrying out the proscription of the christian religion.

"I prolonged my stay a little, in order to ascertain the disposition of the new governor; but in that I found nothing but discouragement. He very soon gave several proofs of strict adherence to the established religion; his reception of me was extremely cold and reserved; and when I mentioned my desire of proceeding to Ava, at some future time, he did not even reply. I think, however, he would not oppose that measure; but, in present circumstances, for reasons mentioned in my last, it is impracticable. I therefore concluded to return to Maulmain, and arrived here on the 5th instant.

"Brother Stevens, having had his own house burned down, had taken up his residence in mine, contiguous to the native chapel. I have, therefore, taken shelter in the house lately occupied by brother Simons, though rather remote from missionary operations, where I intend to make an effort to finish the dictionary. But I hope, also, to preach occasionally in the native chapel, one sermon, at least, every Lord's day, and attend to such other missionary work as may be given me to do."

In April, 1848, Rev. William Moore and wife, joined the Maulmain mission, connecting themselves with the Karen department, and living at Newton. This is the name given, about that time, to the northerly part of Maulmain, and was now regarded as a distinct station. The missionaries to the Karens, associated with Mr. and Mrs. Moore at this date, were Rev. Messrs. Binney, Harris, and Mason, and Miss Vinton — Rev. J. H. Vinton and wife, being on a visit to this country. The schools, theological and normal, for the Karens, were very prosperous. Four graduates of the former were ordained in February, 1847, a circumstance which was looked upon as "one of the most gratifying and auspicious incidents in the history of the Maulmain and Karen mission," that year.

After Mr. Judson's return from Rangoon, aside from his duties as a lexicographer, he preached once a day on the Sabbath, in the Burman chapel; and ere long assumed the pastoral relation to the Burman church, in place of Mr. Stevens, who removed, for a short time, to Amherst to supply a vacancy occasioned by Mr. Haswell's illness and departure, with his wife, for this country.

The last mentioned gentleman, prior to his embarkation, had resided several months at Maulmain preaching both in the Peguan and Burman languages. He completed the Peguan New Testament in the summer of 1847.

While the American laborers in the Burman department of the Maulmain mission were diligent in their several callings, the native assistants were probably no less industrious. The thirty-fourth annual report of the Board, slightly condensed, speaks as follows in regard to their efforts:

"Much preaching is performed by the native preachers in Maulmain. The city is an oblong of several miles extent, with a native population of some thirty or forty thousand. To secure the more general dispensation of the gospel, the following arrangements have long been in existence. Near the Burmese chapel stands a brick zayat, which is daily occupied, Sundays excepted, by one or more native preachers, declaring the gospel daily, sometimes indeed to few, and at other times to scores in one day. Another zayat is in the north part of the town, near the great bazaar, not so old a preaching stand as the former, but, in some respects, much superior to it. The fame of these two zayats in particular has spread far into Burmah Proper. In the south part of the town, in Moung Ngau's district, is another house fitted up to hold evening meetings in, and occupied by a preacher and his family. One of his sons lives near him, also a preacher. For many years a lamp has been burning in that house. Many have heard the gospel there; and the neighborhood well knows, by precept and example, what Jesus Christ's religion is. Still further south, on the same road, stands another similar house, but less recently occupied by preaching. Another christian house, occupied by two native preachers and their families, is situated near the north-east end of the town, not very far from the location of the Karen mission, and in the midst of a population twice as large, perhaps, as that of Amherst. That part of the town is specially assigned to them; and is it their daily practice to go from house to house, to the bazaars, funerals, and other places and occasions of concourse, making known the grace of the gospel. Besides the preachers assigned to these five stations, two others understand it to be their particular duty to itinerate through the town, and preach wherever they can obtain a hearing.

"The assistants are doing a great work, and from Maulmain the truth is sounded out to the remotest parts of Burmah Proper, as well as throughout the provinces of Tenasserim. They daily meet with traders and others from all parts of the country, and make known to them the leading doctrines of the gospel, answer their objections, and give them tracts and portions of Scripture, which are thus scattered abroad as upon the wings of the wind. And though some seed falls by the wayside, some among thorns, and some among stony places, some also must fall upon good ground and bring forth fruit to the glory of God. The truth is working its way into the hearts of the people in town and country."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Christian Reciprocity — Mr. Judson proposes to visit Ava—Temporary Abandonment of the Project — Failure of Mr. Abbott to reënter Burmah Proper — Messrs. Kincaid and Dawson appointed to the Ava Mission — Latest Intelligence from them —The Burman Dictionary.

Sweet is christian reciprocity, and beautiful are its manifestations. The people, for whom our prayers have been so frequently offered, and to whom the gospel has been sent, are beginning, in part, to reciprocate the favor. A few months since, we saw a member of the Nowgong Orphan School, in Assam, worshiping with the members of the church in Buffalo, to which the female teacher in that school belongs — rejoicing, that the light of truth has been sent to benighted Assam; pleading for the benediction of Heaven to rest upon those who had been instrumental in teaching him the true religion; and beseeching sinners in christian America to be reconciled to Christ.

Another instance of christian reciprocity — one which strikingly illustrates its beauty, and the power and worth of the religion that prompts it—is recorded by Mr. Judson. Writing on the 21st of May, 1848, he says: "I have just returned from the Burmese chapel, where I have been endeavoring to do something analogous to what I suppose many ministers are doing before their respective churches, on this, the first Sabbath subsequent to the annual meeting of the Union. I improved the occasion to impress on my hearers their obligations to christians in America, for having sustained this mission through the long period of thirty-five years—and not this mission only, but missions throughout the world; that there are, at present, above a thousand American missionaries, of different denominations, scattered over the habitable globe. It is true, that the relative positions of the parties would not allow them to manifest their gratitude in such a manner as the christians of Macedonia and Achaia manifested their gratitude to the poor brethren in Jerusalem, (Rom. iv: 26, 27;) but they could be convinced of their obligations; they could ponder on them and converse about them, until their hearts burned with gratitude and love to their American brethren, and to the Saviour, the Lord of missions. They could, though separated by wide oceans, meet at the same throne of grace; and though they could not extend their own hands in kindness, they could open that Hand which is replete with every good and perfect gift, and cause a shower of blessings to descend on their distant benefactors. They could gladden their hearts and the heart of their Saviour, by living according to the precepts of the holy religion which had been sent them: and is there any thing sweeter and nobler in this world, than to gladden the hearts of our benefactors, especially of our great Benefactor, who laid down his life for us? And, lastly, they could second the intentions of their American brethren, by making every effort to spread the gospel around them. 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' I never had a more attentive audience. May God bless the feeble effort, and the efforts of my brethren during the past week, in drawing into closer union the far-separated members of Christ's body, until we become one in him forevermore."—Thus the churches of Asia salute their sisters in America.

While Mr. Judson was at Rangoon, in 1847, the government interpreter of that city often urged him to proceed to Ava, and reap the superior advantages there afforded for the prosecution of his great literary task; but it will be recollected that a serious obstacle lay in his way, in the low state of the mission funds. Early in the autumn of 1848, the prospect for visiting the capital seemed to assume a feasible aspect, and Mr. Judson wrote on the 23d of September, revealing his plan to the Board:

"The preparation of the English and Burmese part of my dictionary is so far advanced, that I hope to commence printing a small edition next month, preparatory to a larger and uniform edition of both parts, when the Burmese and English part is completed. But, as I advance in the latter part, I feel more deeply the desirableness and importance of making a visit to Ava, and availing myself of the learned men and the literary works that are to be found at the capital alone. The government interpreter of Rangoon, who greatly befriended me during my visit to the place last year, lately wrote me, that he hoped I would bear in mind the necessity of going to Ava before I printed the work, and that if I did not, it would be impossible for me to make it what it ought to be. I presume that no person, acquainted with the circumstances of the case, would dissent from that opinion. But the difficulty of penetrating into the country, and staying long enough to improve the dictionary, is very great; while the importance of the undertaking will appear still greater, if some view be had to the welfare of the scattered church, and the necessity of conciliating the government, and obtaining, if possible, some religious toleration.

"When last in Rangoon, I lost a favorable opportunity, such as may not occur once in a hundred years. The governor of Rangoon was the very last of all my old court acquaintances; and he was ready to clear my way to Ava, and, by a letter of introduction, into the very presence of the king. But I had no money to buy a boat, pay the boatmen, and defray the other inevitable expenses of the undertaking, nor even to pay my house-rent in Rangoon; so I was obliged to return to this place. The committee have since kindly defrayed the debt contracted on the latter account; but this is all. I suppose they thought, with me, that such a good opportunity would never occur again, and that no benefit would result from lamenting over the past, or providing for the future, a future so utterly improbable. There is, however, at the present moment, a small prospect in the horizon, which may, in a few months, diclose an open path to Ava. If such should be the case, the committee, as well as myself, would regret that my hands were still left tied, and another opportunity be irretrievably lost. I request, therefore, that they will take into immediate consideration the question of appropriating a sum, say one thousand rupees, to defray the expenses of such an undertaking as I speak of; and they may depend, that I shall render, as in former times, a minute and, I hope, satisfactory account of the way in which the money shall be expended.

"I should endeavor to make it a point, before leaving this, not only to see one part of the dictionary out of the press, but the other part brought to such a state, that it may be transcribed and a copy left with the mission, in case of ulterior accident."

Rejoiced that Mr. Judson was again entertaining the project of taking up his abode at the capital, the executive committee cheerfully and promptly responded to his request, placing at his disposal pecuniary facilities for the contemplated removal. The appropriation reached him in February, 1849, and, writing from Maulmain, on the 20th of August following, he says:

"As you see from the date, I am still at Maulmain. Before receiving yours of the 20th of February last, with the appropriation for the expenses of a journey to Ava, the 'small prospect in the horizon,' mentioned in mine of the September preceding, had passed away; and since that, nothing encouraging has occurred. Were it not, however, for the following reason, I should prosecute my first intention; for, so far as a mere journey to Ava is concerned, I know of no obstacle in the way of any foreigner who wishes to proceed thither.

"Just as I had finished the English and Burmese part of the dictionary, at the close of last year, and was about commencing the Burmese and English part, Providence sent me without my seeking, an excellent Burmese scholar, once a priest at Ava, and recommended by a gentleman quite competent to appreciate his qualifications, (since deceased,) as 'the most profound scholar he had ever met with.' I took him at once into my employ, and his aid, united with that of my other assistants, proves to be invaluable, and, in my opinion, obviates much of the necessity of going to Ava, so far as the dictionary is concerned.

"Considering, therefore, the uncertainty of life, and the state of my manuscript, so effaced by time or so erased or interlined as to be illegible to any other person but myself, I have thought it was my duty to forego, for the present, what I can not but regard as an interesting expedition, in order to drive forward the heavy work of the dictionary in the most satisfactory manner, and without incurring the hazard of any serious interruption; — provided always, that in the mean time nothing particularly encouraging, in the direction of Ava, should occur.

" I hope, however, that the appropriation of the executive committee will not be withdrawn, but that I may be allowed to consider it available at the very earliest opportunity."

It may be needless to mention, that Mr. Judson had a double purpose in view, in case he should be permitted to visit the capital of the empire. He wished not only to avail himself of the literary advantages of the place, but to make known the gospel to the new monarch and his idolatrous subjects. Yet " nothing particularly encouraging in the direction of Ava," was seen that year,—and he was to stand in the golden presence no more!

Mr. Abbott, the hero of Sandoway, attempted to reënter Burmah Proper, in 1849, and failed; but he hoped, some day, to make another and a successful attempt. He writes, " Could I only get there, and live with those Karen churches a few months, the fearful excitement which my first going into the country induces, would die away, and the government, I think, would not disturb the people on my account. But I must await the indications of Providence, holding myself in readiness to enter the country, at a moment's warning."

How long the golden frown is to rest on the meek harbingers of the richest tidings, is known only to

Him who sees the end of the heathen's wrath, and has appointed the time for their redemption. Possibly, even now, faint gleams of the slowly-breaking millennial morn, may be tipping the spires of the golden palace. The Board, seeing a "small prospect in the horizon," last year appointed Mr. Kincaid and J. Dawson, M. D., to recommence, if practicable, the mission at Ava. Whether they have proceeded all the way thither, it is not known. The latest intelligence received from them is contained in the following communication from Mr. Kincaid, dated at Rangoon, March 10, 1851:

"After remaining eleven days in Maulmain, Dr. Dawson and I took passage in a schooner of thirty-one tons, manned by Mussulmans, and the morning of the 5th, reached Rangoon, now little more than one wide ruin. The fire, last December, destroyed about three-fourths of the old city. Not only so, but a great number of boats and several ships were burned. Many hundreds of families barely escaped from their houses with their lives. Building is rapidly going on, and hence all sorts of material and all kinds of workmen are in demand.

"It being exceedingly doubtful about our being able to procure a house, we left our families in brother Simon's house, and came on to see what arrangements could be made. One street, called Ko la don, that is Foreigner's street, was saved entirely from the fire. The buildings are owned and occupied by Armenians, Mussulmans, and Hindoos. We called at once at the house in which I had lived nineteen years ago, owned by a Hindoo. The old man is dead; but his son received me with great cordiality, and gave us a room to occupy while in the city. When we first landed, we showed ourselves at the custom house, and got our baggage passed. A few hours after, we were sent for and questioned relative to our business; where we came from; the name of the ship; the name of the captain; what places we stopped at, if any; how many days we were in reaching Africa; how many days we remained there; how long in reaching Maulmain; how many days we remained there; how many languages we understood; and many other questions of a similar character: and all was written down with great minuteness. The next day we were sent for again, and questioned relative to our object in coming into Burmah, and if we were 'Jesus Christ's men;' all of which was written down, and then read to us, and the inquiry put, if it was written correctly. On Saturday, we were sent for again, and questioned relative to Dr. Dawson's knowledge of medicine, and how many kinds of diseases he could cure. Upon this Dr. D. brought a volume on surgery, full of illustrative plates; this the officers examined with care, and another record made.

" On Sabbath morning the viceroy sent for me. I told the secretary to inform his excellency that this was a sacred day, and I could not attend to any worldly business. This, it seems, was satisfactory; but Lord's day evening, betweeen nine and ten o'clock, the secretary came, and said I would be called early in the morning, and was to be questioned in reference to my former residence in Ava. He manifested no small degree of anxiety, thinking they were contriving a plan to get me into difficulty. He is a fine young man, and appears to be a true friend; but he is very timid. Not long since, however, an English merchant was imprisoned and his feet put in the stocks, because his father had, as they alleged, written a letter against the government in one of the Calcutta papers. It cost him between five and six hundred rupees to get out of prison. Several foreigners have been imprisoned during the last six months on the most frivolous pretences, and money extorted from them.

"Early this morning, I was called to the custom house, and questioned in reference to the year I first came to Burmah, how long I lived in Rangoon, and how long in Ava, and other points of a similar character; and my answers were all written down. One could almost fancy himself before a set of inquisitors. One of the officers afterward came and apologized; he said it was the order of the viceroy, or governor, and his authority was supreme. I replied, that we had no objection to answer any questions the government was disposed to ask. All the officers whom I had formerly known, treated us with civility. The viceroy is a new man, as are also all the high officers of the empire. The temper and policy of the government have changed amazingly since the revolution in 1837. When I have had more experience, I will write more definitely.

"Ko Thah-a, the venerable old pastor, has called on us two or three times; also, two other members of the church. The news of our arrival spread rapidly over the city and into the neighboring villages, and many with whom I had formerly been acquainted, called,—among them two young men who had been educated in Mrs. Kincaid's school at Ava. Armenians, Mohammedans, and Hindoos have visited us. A Jew from Bagdad has spent two evenings with us, listening to our account of the Messiah. Dr. Dawson conversed with him in Hindostani, as he does not understand Burman very well. He inquired if it was possible to get the life of Christ in Hebrew or Arabic. I promised to try, as he understands those languages perfectly. We must, if possible, get the Scriptures in seven or eight different languages.

"Dr. Dawson's professional character has spread reports abroad that all sorts of diseases can be cured, and persons are flocking in to test his skill. Among them are several interesting cases. We have succeeded in procuring a house, and shall bring our families to Rangoon as soon as possible.

"I have as yet obtained no information about the church in Ava. There can not be many members there; some have died, and I find eight of the Ava disciples now members of the churches in Amherst and Maulmain; one is in Arracan."

The publication of the first part of the dictionary, was commenced in 1849, and the first two signatures were forwarded, as specimens of the work, to the mission rooms, accompanied by a note from Mr. Judson in which he says: "The work will make a quarto volume of about six hundred pages. We are printing a small edition of three hundred copies only. When the Burmese and English part is completed, and the first part revised, we shall probably issue a much larger edition of both parts, in two volumes quarto."

Alas! Mr. Judson was never to see the whole of the first part printed, nor the Burmese and English part completed.* When the latter was about half finished, failing health forced him to relinquish it; and Mr. Stevens is now reëxamining and verifying the materials, and recasting a part of the work, which was written in cipher by the hand that has now forgotten its cunning, and is at rest, where

"——— the sands are bright as the stars that glow
In the motionless fields of upper air."

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* The printing of the English and Burmese dictionary was completed in January, 1851.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Mr. Judson's last Illness — Fruitless Efforts for his Restoration — Beautiful Decline of a Life of Faith — Mr. Judson embarks for the Isle of Bourbon — Mr. Ranney accompanies him — Last Moments of Mr. Judson — His Death and Burial.

In the latter part of September, 1849, Mr. Judson caught a severe cold while attending one of his children, who was taken suddenly ill, in a damp and chilly night; and from that time health was a stranger to him. He did not, however, entirely relinquish his studies until the month of November. In January following, he took a trip to Mergui, accompanied by his wife, and returned without having realized material benefit. His physician then advised him to again try the effects of sea breezes, and also of sea-bathing; accordingly, again accompanied by his feeble yet faithful companion, he repaired to Amherst, where he remained nearly a month, but without sensible improvement. On the 21st of February, he penned the following note, which, it may be needless to say, was received at the mission rooms, in Boston, with extremely painful feelings, and spread alarm through the land:

"I can not manage a pen, so please excuse pencil. I have been prostrated with fever ever since the latter part of last November, and have suffered so much that I have frequently remarked, that I was never ill in India before. Through the mercy of God, I think I am convalescent for the last ten days; but the doctor and all my friends are very urgent that I should take a sea-voyage of a month or two, and be absent from the place a long time. May God direct in the path of duty. My hand is failing, so I will beg to remain, &c."

His sufferings, hopes, and peace of mind in this, his last illness, are touchingly described by the gifted pen of Mrs. Judson, in a communication addressed to Miss Abigail B. Judson, his only surviving sister. The extracts which follow, and which are abridged to serve our purpose, and not because any parts are deficient in interest, present, in brightest colors, some of the loveliest traits of his character, and additional proof of the triumphs of the soul that is steadfast in Christ:

"There was something exceedingly beautiful in the decline of your brother's life—more beautiful than I can describe, though the impression will remain with me as a sacred legacy, until I go to meet him where suns shall never set and life shall never end. He had been, from my first acquaintance with him, an uncommonly spiritual christian, exhibiting his richest graces in the unguarded intercourse of private life; but, during his last year, it seemed as though the light of the world on which he was entering, had been sent to brighten his upward pathway. Every subject on which we conversed, every book we read, every incident that occurred, whether trivial or important, had a tendency to suggest some peculiarly spiritual train of thought, till it seemed to me, more than ever before, 'that Christ was all his theme.' Something of the same nature was also noted in his preaching, to which I then had not the privilege of listening. He was in the habit, however, of studying his subject for the Sabbath, audibly, and in my presence, at which time he was frequently so much affected as to weep, and sometimes so overwhelmed with the vastness of his conceptions, as to be obliged to abandon his theme, and choose another. My own illness, at the commencement of the year, had brought eternity very near to us, and rendered death, the grave, and the bright heaven beyond it, familiar subjects of conversation. Gladly would I give you some idea of the share borne by him in those memorable conversations; but it would be impossible to convey, even to those who know him best, the most distant conception. I believe he has sometimes been thought eloquent, both in conversation and in the sacred desk; but the fervid, burning eloquence, the deep pathos, the touching tenderness, the elevation of thought, and intense beauty of expression, which characterized those private teachings, were not only beyond what I had ever heard before, but such as I felt sure arrested his own attention, and surprised even himself.

"As his health declined, his mental exercises at first seemed deepened; and he gave still large portions of his time to prayer, conversing with the utmost freedom on his daily progress, and the extent of his self-conquest. Just before our trip to Mergui, he looked up from his pillow one day, with sudden animation, and said to me earnestly, 'I have gained the victory at last. I love every one of Christ's redeemed, as I believe he would have me love them, in the same manner, though not probably to the same degree, as we shall love one another in heaven; and gladly would I prefer the meanest of his creatures, who bears his name, before myself.' This he said in allusion to the text, 'In honor preferring one another,' on which he had frequently dwelt with great emphasis. After further similar conversation he concluded, 'And now here I lie at peace with all the world, and, what is better still, at peace with my own conscience. I know that I am a miserable sinner in the sight of God, with no hope but in the blessed Saviour's merits; but I can not think of any particular fault, any peculiarly besetting sin, which it is now my duty to correct. Can you tell me of any?'

"And truly, from this time, no other word would so well express his state of feeling, as that one of his own choosing—*peace*. He had no particular exercises afterward, but remained calm and serene, speaking of himself daily as a great sinner, who had been overwhelmed with benefits, and declaring that he had never, in all his life before, had such delightful views of the unfathomable love, and infinite condescension of the Saviour, as were now daily opening before him. 'O, the love of Christ! the love of Christ!' he would suddenly exclaim, while his eye kindled, and the tears chased each other down his cheeks, 'we can not understand it now — but what a beautiful study for eternity!'

"At Amherst we remained nearly a month. This to me was the darkest period of his illness — no medical adviser, no friend at hand, and he daily growing weaker and weaker. He began to totter in walking, clinging to the furniture and walls when he thought he was unobserved, (for he was not willing to acknowledge his debility,) and his wan face was of a ghastly paleness. His sufferings, too, were sometimes fearfully intense, so that in spite of his habitual self-control, his groans would fill the house. At other times, a kind of lethargy seemed to steal over him, and he would sleep almost incessantly for twenty-four hours, seeming annoyed if he were aroused or disturbed. Yet there were portions of the time when he was comparatively comfortable, and conversed intelligently; but his mind seemed to revert to former scenes, and he tried to amuse me with stories of his boyhood — his college days — his imprisonment in France, and his early missionary life. He had a great deal also to say on his favorite theme, 'The love of Christ;' but his strength was too much impaired for any continuous mental effort. Even a short prayer, made audibly, exhausted him to such a degree, that he was obliged to discontinue the practice.

"At length I wrote to Maulmain, giving some expression of my anxieties and misgivings, and our kind missionary friends, who had, from the first, evinced all the tender interest and watchful sympathy of the nearest kindred, immediately sent for us, the doctor advising a sea-voyage. But as there was no vessel in the harbor bound for a port sufficiently distant, we thought it best, in the meantime, to remove from our old dwelling which had long been condemned as unhealthy, to another mission-house, fortunately empty. This change was, at first, attended with the most beneficial results, and our hopes revived so much, that we looked forward to the approaching rainy season for entire restoration. But it lasted only a little while, and then both of us became convinced, that, though a voyage at sea involved much that was exceedingly painful, it yet presented the only prospect of recovery, and could not, therefore, without a breach of duty, be neglected.

"'O, if it were only the will of God to take me now—to let me die here!' he repeated, over and over again, in a tone of anguish, while we were considering the subject. 'I can not, can not go!—this is almost more than I can bear! was there ever suffering like our suffering!' and the like broken expressions, were continually falling from his lips. But he soon gathered more strength of purpose, and, after the decision was fairly made, he never hesitated for a moment, rather regarding the prospect with pleasure.

I think the struggle which this resolution cost, injured him very materially; though probably it had no share in bringing about the final result. God, who saw the end from the beginning, had counted out his days, and they were hastening to a close. Until this time, he had been able to stand, and to walk slowly from room to room; but as he one evening attempted to rise from his chair, he was suddenly deprived of his small remnant of muscular strength, and would have fallen to the floor, but for timely support.

"From that moment his decline was rapid. As he lay helplessly on his couch, and watched the swelling of his feet, and other alarming symptoms, he became very anxious to commence his voyage, and I felt equally anxious to have his wishes gratified. I still hoped he might recover—the doctor said the chances of life and death were, in his opinion, equally balanced—and then he always loved the sea so dearly! There was something exhilarating to him in the motion of a vessel, and he spoke with animation of getting free from the almost suffocating atmosphere incident to the hot season, and drinking in the fresh sea breezes. He talked but little more, however, than was necessary to indicate his wants, his bodily sufferings being too great to allow of conversation; but several times he looked up to me with a bright smile, and exclaimed, as heretofore, 'O the love of Christ! the love of Christ!'

"I found it difficult to ascertain, from expressions casually dropped, from time to time, his real opinion with regard to his recovery; but I thought there was some reason to doubt whether he was fully aware of his critical situation. I did not suppose he had any preparation to make at this late hour, and I felt sure that if he should be called ever so unexpectedly, he would not enter the presence of his Maker with a ruffled spirit; but I could not bear to have him go away, without knowing how doubtful it was whether our next meeting would not be in eternity; and perperhaps too, in my own distress, I might still have looked for words of encouragement and sympathy, to a source which had never before failed.

"It was late in the night, and I had been performing some little sick-room offices, when suddenly he looked up to me, and exclaimed, 'This will never do! You are killing yourself for me, and I will not permit it. You must have some one to relieve you. If I had not been made selfish by suffering, I should have insisted upon it long ago.'

"He spoke so like himself—with the earnestness of health, and in a tone to which my ear had of late been a stranger, that, for a moment, I felt almost bewildered with sudden hope. He received my reply to what he had said, with a half-pitying, half-gratified smile; but in the meantime his expression had changed—the marks of excessive debility were again apparent, and I could not forbear adding, 'It is only a little while, you know.'

"'Only a little while,' he repeated mournfully; 'this separation is a bitter thing, but it does not distress me now as it did—I am too weak.' 'You have no reason to be distressed,' I answered, 'with such glorious prospects before you. You have often told me it is the one left alone who suffers, not the one who goes to be with Christ.' He gave me a rapid, questioning glance, then assumed, for several moments, an attitude of deep thought. Finally, he slowly unclosed his eyes, and, fixing them on me, said, in a calm, earnest tone, 'I do not believe I am going to die. I think I know why this illness has been sent upon me — I needed it — I feel that it has done me good — and it is my impression, that I shall now recover, and be a better and more useful man.'

'Then it is your wish to recover?' I inquired. 'If it should be the will of God, yes. I should like to complete the dictionary, on which I have bestowed so much labor, now that it is so nearly done; for, though it has not been a work that pleased my taste, or quite satisfied my feelings, I have never underrated its importance. Then, after that, come all the plans that we have formed. O, I feel as though only just beginning to be prepared for usefulness.'

"'It is the opinion of most of the mission,' I remarked, 'that you will not recover.' 'I know it is,' he replied; 'and I suppose they think me an old man, and imagine it is nothing for one like me to resign a life so full of trials. But I am not old — at least in that sense — you know I am not. Oh! no man ever left this world, with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes or warmer feelings — warmer feelings,'— he repeated, and burst into tears. His face was perfectly placid even while the tears broke away from the closed lids, and rolled, one after another, down to the pillow. There was no trace of agitation or pain in his manner of weeping; but it was evidently the result of acute sensibilities, combined with great physical weakness. To some suggestions which I ventured to make, he replied, 'It is not that — I know all that, and I feel it in my inmost heart. Lying here, on my bed, when I could not talk, I have had such views of the loving condescension of Christ, and the glories of heaven, as I believe are seldom granted to mortal man. It is not because I shrink from death, that I wish to live; neither is it because the ties that bind me here, though some of them are very sweet, bear any comparison with the drawings I at times feel toward Heaven; but a few years would not be missed from my eternity of bliss, and I can well afford to spare them, both for your sake and for the sake of the poor Burmans;—I am not tired of my work, neither am I tired of the world; yet, when Christ calls me home, I shall go with the gladness of a boy bounding away from his school. Perhaps I feel something like the young bride, when she contemplates resigning the pleasant associations of her childhood, for a yet dearer home — though only a very little like her — for *there is no doubt resting on my future.*' 'Then death would not take you by surprise,' I remarked, 'if it should come even before you could get on board ship?' 'Oh, no,' he said, 'death will never take me by surprise — do not be afraid of that — I feel *so strong in Christ.* He has not led me so tenderly thus far, to forsake me at the very gate of heaven. No, no; I am willing to live a few years longer, if it should be so ordered, and if otherwise, I am willing and glad to die now. I leave myself entirely in the hands of God, to be disposed of according to his holy will.'

"The next day, some one mentioned in his presence, that the native christians were greatly opposed to the voyage, and that many other persons had a similar feeling with regard to it. I thought he seemed troubled, and, after the visitor had withdrawn, I inquired if he still felt as when he conversed with me the night previous. He replied, 'O yes; that was no evanescent feeling. It has been with me, to a greater or less extent, for years, and will be with me, I trust, to the end. I am ready to go *to-day*—if it should be the will of God, this very hour; but I am not *anxious* to die—at least, when I am not beside myself with pain.'

"'Then why are you so desirous to go to sea; I should think it would be a matter of indifference to you?' 'No,' he answered quietly, 'my judgment tells me it would be wrong not to go—the doctor says *criminal.* I shall certainly die here—if I go away, I may possibly recover. There is no question with regard to duty in such a case; and I do not like to see any hesitation, even though it springs from affection.'"

These remarks were made with reference to a second voyage, which had now been decided on. He was to visit the Isle of Bourbon, and for that purpose, being unable to walk or stand, a palanquin and bearers took him on board the French barque Aristide Marie, on the 3d of April. Arrangements had been made for the steamer Proserpine, then employed as a military transport, and bound southward that morning with troops, to tow the barque out of the river; but owing to some misunderstanding between the commissioner of the provinces and the commander of the steamer, the latter craft was not allowed to perform the stipulated service. The result was, that the barque was five days in reaching Amherst, and another day passed before the pilot left her. It is probable this delay in getting to sea was deleterious in its influence on Mr. Judson.

Mrs. Judson, as well as two or three other missionaries, was with him more or less while passing down the river; and it was during those visits that a part of the conversation, which her pen has treasured, and which is recorded in the preceding pages, occurred. She was very anxious to accompany her husband — though it would have jeoparded her own life — but in compliance with his urgent request, she finally, on the fifth day after he went on board the vessel, took leave of him, to see his face no more on earth.*

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* Mrs. Judson has been an invalid for years; and, being unfitted for the hardships of missionary life, it was Mr. Judson's particular request, that in case he should die first, she should return with the children to this country. She sailed from Maulmain, for Calcutta, January 22d; and at this date, August 1st 1851, her arrival is looked for daily.

However alarming the apprehensions of his friends, it was Mr. Judson's opinion that he should return from the voyage; and when the native assistants, two of whom, with a member of the Amherst church, remained on board as long as the pilot, became alarmed on account of the swelling of his feet, and begged that he might be taken back to Maulmain, he observed to Mr. Ranney, who accompanied him to sea, that they were frightened when they saw the condition of his limbs. "They regard it," said he, "as a sure sign of approaching death; but I do not. I have talked with the doctor about this, and have remarked, at different times, the swelling and subsiding. I still feel that there is so much of life in me that I shall recover." When the pilot and native disciples left the ship, Mr. Ranney wrote to Mrs. Judson, at Mr. Judson's request, saying, as his opinion of himself, that, "he went out to sea with a strong feeling that he should recover."

During the first two or three days of the voyage, he endured great pain at times, and was troubled very much with vomiting and a hiccough, the last of which ailments, he said, was killing him. About the third day, the captain administered medicine several times, without effect, which drew from Mr. Judson the remark: "It is of but little consequence. I do not wish any one to think that I die because all was not done that could be for me. The disease will take its course."

Immediately preceding his spells of vomiting, he was seized with pain, which was so severe that it seemed almost insupportable; and while thus suffering, on one occasion, he said: "Oh, that I could die at once, and go directly to paradise, where there is no pain!"

At another time, while conversing with Mr. Ranney, on expressing his gratitude to God that he had a christian friend on board, Mr. R. remarked that he hoped Christ was near, to sustain him; to which he replied, "O yes! *it is all right there!* I believe he gives me just so much pain and suffering as is necessary to fit me to die,—to make me submissive to his will."

On the morning of the 11th, the day before his death, his eyes became dull and glassy, and remained half open while sleeping. Before noon, he took two doses of ether, which seemed to partially relieve him. About this time, after vomiting, which had been heralded by the acutest pain, he said, "Oh, how few there are who suffer such great torment—who die so hard!"

For a day and a half immediately preceding his death, his agonies were almost incessant, and terrible. About noon, on the 12th, Mr. Ranney discovered a transient aberration of mind. "At three o'clock, he said, in Burmese, to Pinapah, a native servant, 'It is done, I am going.' Shortly after he made a sign with his hand downward, which was not understood. Drawing Mr. Ranney's ear close to his mouth, he said, convulsively, 'Brother Ranney, will you bury me! bury me!—quick! quick!' These words were prompted, perhaps, by the thought of burial in the sea crossing his mind. Mr. Ranney here being called out for a moment, Mr. Judson spoke to the servant in English and also in Burmese, of Mrs. Judson, bidding him 'take care of poor mistress,' and at fifteen minutes past four o'clock he breathed his last."

During the last few moments of his life, his muscles denoted no pain, and the placidity of the sunny land to which his soul was fleeing, rested on his face. "The moment of the going out of life," writes Mr. Ranney, "was indicated only by his ceasing to breathe. A gentle pressure of the hand, growing more and more feeble as life waned, showed the peacefulness of the spirit about to take its homeward flight."

Such was the end of this great and good man, who lived the life of faith. His transition to the clear sky above, was as glorious as his career on the clouded earth was sublime—

"He sets,
As sets the morning star, which goes not down
Behind the darkened west, nor hides obscured
Among the tempests of the sky — but melts away
Into the light of heaven."

At first, it was thought that the burial might be deferred until the next day, but necessity required that it should take place that night. Accordingly, the body was placed in a strong plank coffin, containing sufficient sand to make it sink, and in three hours and a half after Mr. Ranney had closed his sightless eyes, in latitude thirteen degrees north, and longitude ninety-three degrees east, all that remained of the father of American Baptist Missions, glided in silence from the larboard port, and found its rest beneath those billows, whose solemn anthem is a fitting requiem for the Christian warrior.

The captain of the American band, who are storming the battlements of Burman idolatry, has fallen; but let not his name be stricken from the lists. As the comrades of "the warrior of Breton birth, La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, as he was called,"* insisted that, though dead, his name should not be erased, and one of the survivors regularly answered for the departed hero, "Dead on the field;" so should it be with the name of Adoniram Judson. He lies in the sepulchre of his choice, only three days' sail from sight of the mountains of his adopted country; and as his field was emphatically the world, and his monument, as it has been called, is the great deep, whose "drifting currents" wash the shores of every land; so, in every stronghold of paganism, where the soldiers of the cross rally, let his name stand on the roll-call of the departed, and thus, though dead, he will yet speak, and "JUDSON" serve, until the redemption of our fallen race, as a watchword for decision of character, singleness and sublimity of purpose, perseverance amid Alpine obstructions, implicit trust in God, and courageous firmness in the Thermopylæs of Truth.

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* Williams' Religious Progress, page 48.

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